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THE

# NATIONAL

# PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

## DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS:

WITH

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

In every age and nation distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed. The greatest poets, orators, and historians, were contemporaries with the most celebrated painters, statuaries, and engravers of gems and medals; and the desire to be acquainted with a man's aspect, has ever risen in proportion to the known excellence of his character, and the admiration of his writings.—GRANGER.

PHILADELPHIA:
D. RICE & A. N. HART.
1854.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by

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In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

# PREFACE.

THE present work is not of an ephemeral character. Originally undertaken by James B. Longacre, of Philadelphia, and connected subsequently with a similar undertaking by James Herring, of New York, it was first offered to the public in a serial form in 1833; and has been gradually brought, in despite of many adverse circumstances, to the matured condition in which its claims to public favor are now presented.

During its progress, more than FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS have been expended, chiefly upon the illustrations. These, for number, authenticity, and general excellence, far exceed those of any similar work ever before published in the United States. There are thirty-six of these in each volume, or one hundred and forty-four altogether. They are finely engraved on steel, either in line or stipple, and are all taken from original and authentic portraits, many of them by the best masters. Among the portrait painters, whose scattered works are here collected and preserved by the art of the engraver, may be mentioned particularly, Stuart, Trumbull, Sully, Peale, Copley, Leslie, Inman, Newton, Ingham, Durand and Healy. In the preparation of the biographies, equal pains have been taken. The facts have been sifted with the greatest care, and the statements may all be relied upon as entirely authentic. Among the writers, by whom these biographies have been prepared, may be named John Quincy Adams, Prof. Ticknor, Prof. Upham, Robert Y. Hayne, Robert Walsh, Charles J. Ingersoll, Dr. Hosack, Dr. John W. Francis, and others equally well known to the public.

It can hardly be necessary to say much in demonstrating the value of a work of this kind. This form of historical literature, although of recent origin, has already been largely employed in England and on the continent of Europe, and to some extent in the United States. It is undoubtedly one of the most useful and elegant modes in which

the materials of history can be collected and preserved, and the taste for such studies gratified. The design is to present, in the most chaste and classical style of composition, and with all possible beauty of mechanical execution, an accurate and authentic account of the lives and characters of those persons, who have distinguished themselves in the public service, or in any way contributed to promote the national glory. The biographical sketches are brief and condensed, and each is accompanied by the most exact and best executed portrait that could be procured. The work, then, while it preserves the memory of the great and good, and perpetuates their living images, exhibits at the same time a specimen of the highest point of excellence, to which the arts of painting, engraving, typography, paper-making, and binding, are carried in the country.

But the finished elegance of the PORTRAIT GALLERY does not constitute its only, nor its highest claim to public patronage. It deserves to be regarded as a work of very great value in an historical point of view. A general history must always cover so wide a surface as to forbid such a degree of particularity, as is necessary in order to give it one of the principal charms that belong to that department of writing. Individual characters and single incidents must be passed over in silence, or but slightly noticed. The course of events must be related only in their most prominent stages, and can be explained no farther than by referring to their leading causes, and discussing the general principles which cover them. While this is necessary in order to give to a work, which aims to occupy the highest department of history, its peculiar excellence, it at the same time deprives it of much of the interest and value that would attach to a more particular and detailed narrative. If general history attempted to enter upon these minute details, there would be no room left for those reflections and philosophical inductions, which constitute the highest attributes of historical composition.

These omissions and deficiencies must be supplied by works of a different description. Brief biographies are well adapted to answer this end. They constitute the complement of history. They are to the works of Bancroft and Prescott, what useful and elegant furniture

is to a mansion, or statuary and paintings to a stately edifice. When the great events, which are the prominent points in the career of a nation, have been suitably represented and commemorated, the memoirs of individuals who acted a conspicuous part in them will rescue from oblivion all that remains worthy of notice, and the whole work will be adequately accomplished.

Such is the task which the projectors of the present undertaking placed before them. Strong in the confidence of its ultimate success, they have expended their means with no sparing hand, and they now offer the results of their labor, in a finished state, for the public acceptance. THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY is in every particular the best and most finished, that the style of the arts in America would permit. It is a work which will adorn equally the library and the parlor. By passing through its pages, the patriot and scholar may behold in succession, as in one extended gallery, the images and the history of those who have contributed to shed light or glory on their country.

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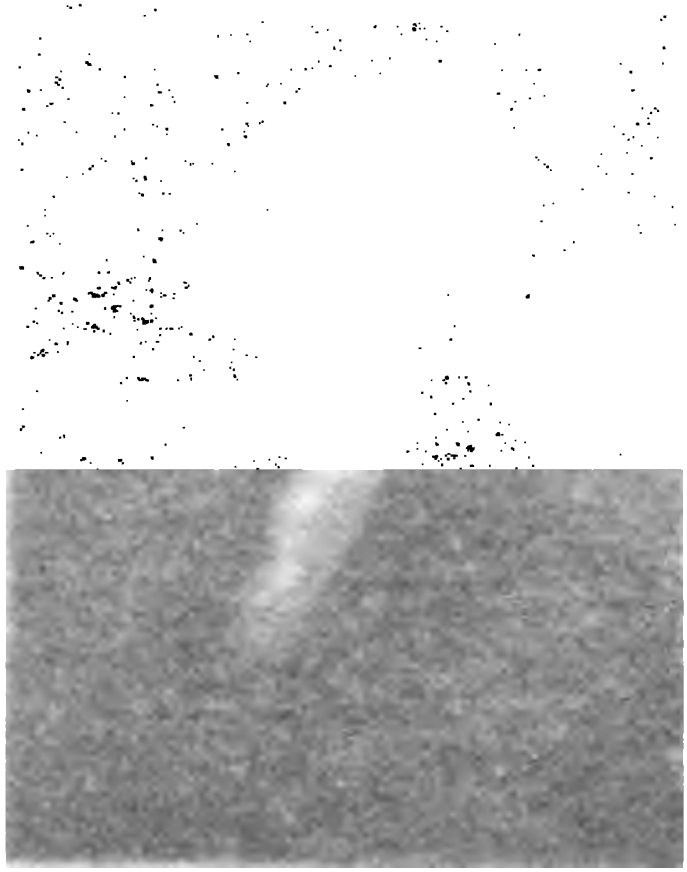

# GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Our commonwealth possesses no richer treasure than the fair fame of her children. In the revolutions of empires, the present institutions of our land may perish, and new ones, perhaps more perfect, may arise; but the glory of our national existence cannot pass away, so long as the names of those who, in it, enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, gave tone to its morals, framed its laws, or fought its battles, are remembered with gratitude. The men who stamp the impressions of their genius or their virtues on their own times, influence also those which follow, and they become the benefactors of after ages and of remote nations. Of such the memorials should be carefully collected and preserved; and Americans, above all others, owe it to their country and to the world to perpetuate such records, while it is possible to separate truth from fiction, in all that relates to those who laid the foundation of the republic—who have sustained it by their wisdom, or adorned it by their talents. It should be constantly borne in mind that our country stands conspicuous among nations, as a fair daughter amidst a family of elder sons; that as a nation it has passed through no age of fabulous obscurity, nor useless years of feeble infancy, but stepped forth at maturity, in the panoply of war, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. In its history there is no blank; it is full of striking incidents, of original theories, and of bold experiments. In its government it has exhibited, and is still demonstrating to the world, under new and peculiar aspects, the ability of men to rule themselves, and to protect their own rights without injury to the rights of others. The men whose names are inscribed with honor on the pages of American history, were fitted to the times and the occasions which called them forth; they were men of iron nerves and fearless hearts, of devoted action and incorruptible integrity, of splendid talents and practical common sense; who lived for the glory of their country and the happiness of their race. Of these, there is one "first in the hearts of his countrymen;" as

"——————— The first
In every public duty ———————
Conspicuous like an oak of healthiest bough,
Deep rooted in his country's love he stood." POLLOK.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at Bridge's Creek, Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. Before he was ten years old, he was deprived of the guidance and example of an excellent father; but the judicious economy and prudent affection of his remaining parent provided for him instruction in the useful branches of knowledge, and above all, she trained him to a love of truth, and successfully cultivated that high moral sense which characterized his actions from his youth. There is no doubt that to the careful culture bestowed by his affectionate mother, the *goodness* and *greatness* of WASHINGTON are to be ascribed. And we will here call the attention of the reader to the fact, which bears honorable testimony to the female character, that a large proportion of the distinguished men whose names adorn the history of our country, were left to the care of their widowed mothers at a very early age.

"This tells to mothers what a holy charge
Is theirs,— with what a kingly power their love
Might rule the fountain of the new born mind—
Warns them to wake at early dawn, and sow
Good seed before the world doth sow its tares." MRS. SIGOURNEY.

At the age of fifteen WASHINGTON received the appointment of midshipman in the British navy, but surrendered it at the earnest desire of his mother. He afterwards practised the profession of a surveyor, and when nineteen, he held, for a short time, the appointment of adjutant general, with the rank of major, in the forces of the colony.

In 1753 the French began to execute a project they had some time meditated, which was, to connect their Canadian possessions with Louisiana, by a line of posts from the lakes to the mouth of the Ohio. They marched a force into the country, and erected a fort on the Alleghany river; but these measures being regarded as encroachments on the rights of Great Britain, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, determined to require their withdrawal, and selected WASHINGTON for the performance of the hazardous enterprise of traversing the wilderness and making the demand. This journey was performed in the depth of winter. On his route he examined the country, noted the strongest military positions,

secured the friendship of the Indian tribes, and made himself acquainted with the force and designs of the French. On his return he presented a journal of his progress and observations as part of his report, which, being published and extensively circulated, was read with interest in all the colonies, and gave him a prominent place in the regard of the public.

As the French were determined to hold the country west of the mountains, the legislature of Virginia began to take measures for the maintenance of the British claim. They accordingly raised a regiment, and appointed WASHINGTON lieutenant colonel. Early in the spring, he marched with two companies in advance to the Great Meadows, where he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French had attacked and dispersed a party of workmen who were erecting a fort on the south eastern branch of the Ohio, and were themselves building a fortification at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, and that a detachment were on their march towards him, apparently with hostile intentions; these he surrounded in their encampment at night, and at break of day, his troops, after delivering one fire, which killed the French commander, captured the whole party, except one man. Being joined soon after by the residue of the regiment, and a few other troops, making an aggregate of somewhat less than four hundred men, they erected a small stockade fort; here he was attacked by twelve hundred French and Indians, and after a brave resistance from ten in the morning until night, he capitulated. The assembly of Virginia voted their thanks for the gallantry and good conduct displayed on this occasion.

In the winter of 1754, orders were received from England, that officers of the royal troops should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade, without regard to seniority; on this, WASHINGTON resigned his commission with indignation, and withdrew to Mount Vernon. From this retirement he was tempted by an invitation from General Braddock, to serve as a volunteer aid-de-camp in the campaign of 1755. The experience and advice of WASHINGTON might have been peculiarly valuable to the general, had he known its worth; but that officer, unused to the march of an army through the wilderness, refused to dispense with a cumbrous *attirail*, or to adapt his mode of warfare to the state of the country; the consequence was, his army was defeated, and he lost his life. Notwithstanding the unfortunate result of the expedition, the bravery and admirable conduct of WASHINGTON, in covering the retreat of the army, received the commendation of the wounded general, and led

to his appointment as commander-in-chief of all the Virginia forces. Nearly three years, with less than one thousand provincial troops, aided occasionally by militia, he was expected to protect a frontier of near four hundred miles in extent; but his force was inadequate to the duty required, and the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers ither fled or fell before the savage foe, until the Blue ridge became the boundary of settlement. In the expedition against Fort du Quesne, in 1758, he served under General Forbes; and after a succession of arduous duties, when the country was relieved from immediate danger, he resigned his commission, to the great regret of the officers of the army, both British and provincial. They who had seen service with him in the wilderness, knew the value of his experience and prudent counsels, and although it had been too humiliating to the pride of those who had gathered laurels in the fields of Europe to follow the advice of a provincial officer, yet in the judgement of his countrymen, he retired with an increased military reputation.

From the fields of his early fame, he turned his attention to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and the enjoyment of domestic life. Having inherited from his brother the Mount Vernon estate, he took possession of it, and married a lady of whom we shall hereafter speak more particularly. The ensuing fifteen years were chiefly passed on the banks of the Potomac, in the improving of his estate, occasionally exercising the functions of a justice of the peace, or of a representative in the provincial legislature, until the general congress first assembled in Philadelphia. Like the years of early life, we must pass too hastily forward to more momentous scenes to note the progress of this period more particularly.

Although Virginia had had her share of vexations, which had, at intervals, agitated the colony nearly a century, all had been forgotten on the approach of hostile feet; British and provincial blood had flowed together on the same field in the common cause, and by the union of American and British valor, over the whole country, from the ocean to the northern lakes, the union flag of Britain waved triumphantly. Peace and security brought joy and harmony to the people; and had the authority of the mother country received a liberal construction from its rulers, it is probable that the love and allegiance of the colonists might have been confirmed: but a spirit of domination prevailed, and was resisted; power was applied to enforce obedience, but it only aggravated the evil by imbittering the spirits of a people, who felt themselves to be no longer children, and that

as such they were not regarded. The principle contended for by the parliament was, the absolute "power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Virginia was not less ready than the other colonies to contest that right, and the house of burgesses declared, that "no power on earth has a right to impose taxes on the people, or take the smallest portion of their property, without their consent, given by their representatives in parliament." The parties were thus at issue, and the most zealous exertions were made to defend "THE AMERICAN CAUSE."

When the first intelligence of "the Boston port bill" was received in Virginia, the legislature, which was then in session, entered a solemn protest against it on their journal, and appointed the first of June, 1774, the day on which it was to go into operation, as a day of fasting and prayer. That day, indeed, throughout the country, was a day of humiliation and mourning. Whilst engaged in these proceedings, they were hastily summoned by the governor to the council chamber, and suddenly dissolved. The next day, the 28th of May, 1774, the members met, and recommended the appointing of deputies from the several colonies to meet in congress to deliberate on the measures which the general interests required. Deputies were accordingly appointed, and congress assembled in Philadelphia on the ensuing 4th of September. One of these deputies was GEORGE WASHINGTON. The conspicuous part he had borne in the late wars, had indicated him as the most competent person to be placed at the head of the independent companies formed in Virginia, and when he took his seat in the general congress he was regarded as the *soldier of America*. He was appointed on all committees in which military knowledge was requisite, and when it was determined to appoint a commander-in-chief, he was unanimously chosen. He accepted the appointment with great diffidence, and declined all compensation beyond the payment of his expenses.

He proceeded to Cambridge, near Boston, without delay, and entered on the arduous duties of his station about the 1st of July, 1775. At this time the British army, under General Howe, was entrenched in two divisions, at Roxbury Neck and Bunker Hill: the Americans were encamped on the numerous hills around Boston, their right extending towards Dorchester, their left covered by the Medford river. The commander-in-chief found himself at the head of about fourteen thousand five hundred men, variously armed, without cannon, with few bayonets, and but a small supply of powder; the officers, with few exceptions, without experience, and the

soldiers without discipline. All these defects were to be remedied before offensive operations could commence. The emergency required all the firmness, industry, and perseverance of WASHINGTON; and although he was indefatigable in his exertions, the organization of the army and the collecting of munitions occupied the remainder of the summer and the following autumn.

In the mean time the British army was closely blockaded in Boston, and although it suffered much for supplies, remained inactive. Towards the close of the year a new subject of anxiety arose; the time of service of the troops would expire with the year, and the army was to be replaced by another, in the presence of a disciplined enemy. To raise another army, even for one year's service, was attended with many difficulties. The enthusiastic ardor which had brought the first force into the field had abated; the recollections of home had revived sweet visions of domestic comfort, and the wish to revisit relatives and friends often prevailed over a sense of duty. As the year declined the army gradually melted away, and at the beginning of 1776 the new enlistments scarcely equalled the number of the British troops in Boston. Still, the public, themselves deceived as well as the enemy by the exaggerated representations of WASHINGTON'S offensive means, were impatiently looking for active measures. The commander was not insensible to the effects of his apparent inactivity on the public mind, but it would have been ruin to have explained the cause. He was determined to expel the enemy from Boston as soon as a favorable opportunity should present, and his views being known to congress, that body authorized him to make an attack "in any way he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it might be thereby destroyed." The general assured congress that an attempt would be made the first moment he should perceive a probability of success, and prayed them to believe that circumstances, not inclination on his part, occasioned the delay. "It is not," said he, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together without ammunition; and at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more than, probably, was ever attempted. But if we succeed as well in the latter, as we have hitherto done in the former, I shall think it the most fortunate event in my whole life." About the middle of February the general summoned a council, and submitted the subject of attacking the enemy in Boston by marching over the ice, which was then

firm enough to bear the troops, but they gave, with regret, nearly an unanimous opinion against it. At length, after having received a small additional supply of powder, he determined to fortify Dorchester heights, which would compel the enemy to fight or abandon the town. He detached a sufficient force in the night of the 4th of March to take possession; before morning the breastwork was formed and the cannon mounted. When the morning light revealed the new entrenchment to the British, they opened a fire upon it, which was promptly returned; Lord Percy was then ordered, with about three thousand men, to dislodge the Americans; but they were delayed by a storm until the works were so strengthened that it was deemed advisable to let them alone. General Howe then prepared to evacuate Boston; and WASHINGTON, confidently believing that New York would be the next point of attack, detached a part of the army towards that place, whilst he continued to make approaches towards Boston with the remaining troops. The British evacuated the town on the 17th of March, and in a few days left the harbor. WASHINGTON, with the main body of his army, arrived in New York on the 14th of April, and pressed forward the defences of the city. Many of the inhabitants of New York were disaffected to the American cause, and to add to the embarrassments the commander already experienced, a part of his own guard was seduced to seize his person and deliver him to the enemy, but the plot being discovered, some of the conspirators were executed.

Early in July the British army landed on Staten Island, eight miles below the city of New York, where they remained about three weeks, and received large reinforcements of German troops. They then passed over the Narrows to Long Island, and pushed their detachments across the country through Flatlands towards the sound. These being opposed by a division under Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling, a severe contest ensued, but the British right having outflanked the left of the Americans, the latter suffered a total defeat, and took shelter within the lines at Brooklyn, which the enemy immediately invested and prepared to assault, believing them to be more formidable than they really were. WASHINGTON had seen the latter part of this battle, and unwilling to hazard the loss of that whole division, he determined to withdraw it. This he effected in the night after the battle with such secrecy and despatch, that the enemy were first aware of their retreat, when they perceived the rear guard crossing the East river in the morning. From the commencement of the action on the 27th, until the last boat left Brook-

lyn on the morning of the 29th, WASHINGTON was without rest or sleep; and was most of the time on horseback. The British army were within musket shot of the lines, yet such was the silence and order preserved, that nine thousand men, with their arms and ammunition, and most of the provisions and cannon, were conveyed across a river half a mile broad, without confusion or interruption. The skilful execution of this masterly retreat has been extolled by all writers on the subject. It now became necessary to evacuate New York; and after a short stand at Kingsbridge, the American army took a position at Whiteplains. Here a battle was fought which was not decisive; and while General Howe was waiting for a reinforcement, WASHINGTON took another position, which the British commander considered too strong to be attempted, and, after endeavoring in vain to draw on an engagement on more favorable terms, he changed his plan of operations, marched down the Hudson, and captured fort Washington, on York island, making about two thousand prisoners. This was a serious blow to the American cause, and rendered an immediate retreat across the river imperative. Lord Cornwallis, with a large force, followed so close in the rear of the feeble remnant of an army which accompanied WASHINGTON into New Jersey, that Fort Lee, on that side of the river, was hastily abandoned, and with it nearly all the artillery and baggage.

It was now late in November; most of the New England militia had returned home, their term of service having expired; on the 1st of December the Maryland and Jersey levies availed themselves of the same right at Brunswick, even while the enemy were in sight; the loss of their baggage, sickness, and fatigue, rendered them impatient, and for a time overcame every other consideration. The continental troops, wasted daily by disease and desertion, until the *grand army*, on which hung the destinies of this continent, was reduced to three thousand men, without tents or camp equipage, half naked and bare-footed, disheartened by misfortunes, and even hope afar off. The spirit of the commander, sustained by the resolution and firmness of his officers, carried him through this scene of suffering with a countenance of calm self-possession, which saved the army from immediate dissolution. On the 8th of December he crossed the Delaware, and secured all the boats to prevent the passage of the enemy. The British army entered Trenton as the last boat of the Americans left it. There General Howe abandoned the pursuit until the ice should bridge the river; meanwhile he cantoned his army in detachments in the towns along the left bank of

the Delaware, and at Trenton and New Brunswick. Wa[illegible], whilst gathering strength by calling in the distant divi[illegible]nd volunteers, with secret exultation watched the detached corps of the British and Hessians, and he concerted with Generals Cadwallader and Irving, a simultaneous attack on three of them. That which was conducted by the commander-in-chief, was alone successful. His troops began to cross the Delaware a few miles above Trenton, about dusk on the 25th of December, when it was believed the enemy would be enjoying the festive anniversary in confidence of safety. The night was dark and very cold, and the passage was so retarded by a high wind, a swift current and masses of floating ice, that it was four o'clock in the morning before they could be formed on the Jersey shore. The attack was made in two columns about day-break; a violent snow storm driving directly in the faces of the assailants at the time. The enemy made a momentary show of resistance by a wild and ill-directed fire from their quarters, and attempted to form on the main street, which was prevented by the fire of six pieces of artillery. "When Forrest's battery was opened," says General Wilkinson, "the general kept on the left, and advancing with it, giving objects of direction to his fire; his position was an exposed one, and he was frequently entreated to fall back, of which he took no notice; he had turned the guns on the retreating enemy, when to an order for the discharge of cannister, Captain Forrest observed—'Sir, they have struck.' 'Struck!' replied the general. 'Yes,' said Forrest, 'their colors are down.' 'So they are,' observed the chief, and galloped towards them." A troop of British dragoons, and about five hundred infantry, fled down the river. The main body, after endeavoring to escape by the right towards Princeton, surrendered on a summons from the general. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to only ten. The Hessian colonel, Rahl, with six other officers and about forty men, were killed, and twenty-three officers and nearly one thousand men, made prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements, cannon, &c., all which were safely conveyed across the Delaware.

This achievement changed the aspect of the war, raised the desponding spirits of the people, and inspired the army with renewed zeal. The prisoners having been disposed of, WASHINGTON returned to Trenton. Cornwallis, with an army whose strength gave him a confidence of victory, approached on the afternoon of the 2d of January, 1777, and was met with firmness by detachments of Americans who disputed his approach with great gallantry, but whose only object

ear away the day without the risk of a general engagement length suspended the fight, while the hostile armies were separated only by the narrow stream over which the last detachment of Americans had been forced. The watch fires were lighted, guards doubled, a fatigue party set to work on an entrenchment within hearing of the enemy's sentinels, and every appearance kept up of a determination to abide the result of a battle on the morrow: but at midnight, WASHINGTON moved his little army, by an indirect route, towards Princeton, where was posted a large detachment of British troops. This manœuvre was not discovered by the enemy until morning, when the firing at Princeton announced that the American army was nine miles in their rear, and their magazines at Brunswick in danger of destruction. Early on the morning of the 3d, the advance of the American army encountered the seventeenth British regiment near Princeton, and after a short action, gave way; WASHINGTON now formed his troops into a close column, and placing himself at their head, he led them into action. The struggle was short, but fierce and obstinate. The seventeenth regiment was nearly annihilated; two other British regiments threw themselves into the college, which they soon abandoned, and made a precipitate retreat towards Brunswick with very little loss. They were followed as far as Kingston, and it was the desire of every officer to strike at the enemy's post, at New Brunswick; but the men were too much exhausted by hunger, cold, and fatigue, to warrant the attempt; besides which, the enemy from Trenton were exchanging shot with the rear guard. The army was, therefore, conducted by the way of Rocky Hill and Somerville, to Morristown, where they went into winter quarters. Here, with never more, but often less than one thousand regulars, and about two thousand militia, WASHINGTON kept the enemy in check, although they occupied their line of posts from Brunswick to New York with twenty-five thousand men.

But the spirit of the citizens of New Jersey was now roused to exertion, not only by the successes of their countrymen, but also by the insults, injuries, and cruelty of the foe, particularly the Hessian troops, who had overrun the middle counties of that state. Taught by the bitter experience of the "protection" afforded by that licentious soldiery, the militia of New Jersey watched every opportunity to strike the enemy wherever their foraging or reconnoitering parties appeared, and their frequent success greatly relieved the commander-in-chief, who again had to encounter the evils arising from short enlistments. He had often remonstrated with congress against the

practice of engaging men for a single year, but the prejudices of the country against a standing army were difficult to overcome. Relying, however, on the integrity and wisdom of the commander, he was, two days after the battle of Trenton, invested with full powers to raise sixteen battalions of infantry, three thousand cavalry, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; to establish their pay, form magazines, appoint and displace officers, under the rank of brigadier-generals, at his pleasure; and to take whatever he might want, wherever he might be, for the use of the army; in short, so far as the army was concerned, his powers were almost dictatorial for the period of six months.

After the British forces had obtained possession of New York, their next object had been Philadelphia; in this they had been hitherto effectually baffled. In the spring of 1777 the attempt was renewed, but all their manœuvres to draw the American army from their advantageous position in the hills were ineffectual, and after some trials of skill between the hostile commanders, the British resorted to their ships. They embarked from New York in July, and entering the Chesapeake, landed at the head of Elk on the 25th of August, and marched towards Philadelphia. At the Brandywine, WASHINGTON opposed their progress on the 10th of September, but was compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the sixteenth, he once more determined to risk an engagement to save Philadelphia, but a storm of unusual violence obliged him to retire, as is stated in our sketch of the life of General Wayne, who commanded the attack. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, the British general took possession of Philadelphia, and soon after formed an encampment at Germantown. For the particulars of the battle which was fought there, we refer (for the sake of avoiding unnecessary repetition) to the life of Colonel Howard. The British forces being concentrated in Philadelphia, and their ships, after some gallant resistance, having obtained command of the Delaware, WASHINGTON took a strong position at White Marsh. Sir William Howe, although in command of a vastly superior force, found himself so much restricted by the proximity of the American army, which shut him out from a rich, and, to him, necessary country for supplies, that he marched out to attack it, hoping to take it by surprise, but he was foiled in his attempt, and returned to Philadelphia. Determined to defend the country from depredation, WASHINGTON selected Valley Forge for winter quarters. Here, while the foe were luxuriating in the comfortable quarters of a populous and wealthy city, the

[redacted] were sheltered in huts of their own fabrication, and frequently suffered the extremity of want. The commissary's department—imperfectly organized for want of experience—had given cause for frequent complaints; congress, by endeavoring to apply a remedy, increased the distress of the troops, so that very frequently their movements were prevented, and the plans of the commander consequently embarrassed. He frequently and earnestly remonstrated; but the evil was not, and, indeed, could not be immediately obviated, without causing much distress in other quarters. Congress authorized the seizure of provisions within seventy miles of head quarters, and although WASHINGTON was compelled by the necessities of his army to avail himself of the authority, he exercised it with so much reluctance and forbearance, that the wants of the troops were scarcely satisfied, and congress appeared as much dissatisfied with his lenity to the people, as the inhabitants were by what they considered a rigorous exercise of power. At this time a party was formed in congress to remove the commander-in-chief; a few officers of the army encouraged the discontents, by comparing the services of WASHINGTON with those of General Gates,—forgetting, in their zeal, the fact, that the one had repeatedly fought a superior force, and that the other, though a conqueror, had gained his laurels with an army, regulars and militia, of nearly three times the numerical strength of his opponents. The legislature of Pennsylvania, too, added their voice to the dissention, by remonstrating against the army removing into winter quarters. But the machinations of faction were vain. The commander possessed the confidence of the country, and was beloved by the army; and even the troops who had served under General Gates, expressed their indignation at the idea of a change. The only effect produced in the country, was a universal excitement of resentment against those who were believed to be inimical to the chief. Whilst these combinations of intrigue and ambition were progressing, the sufferings of the army were not ameliorated, and they at length drew from the commander a communication to congress of unprecedented plainness and energy. He stated his conviction that unless some great change took place in the commissary's department, the army would inevitably be reduced to starvation or dissolution—that there was not in the camp a single head of cattle to be slaughtered, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour, nor could the commissary tell when any might be expected; and, that three or four days of bad weather would prove their destruction—that there were near three thousand men in camp

unfit for duty, because they were barefooted and otherwise [redacted] besides those confined in the hospitals and in farm houses [redacted] the same account. He charged it home to those who had remonstrated against his going into winter quarters, that they knew the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration. "I can assure those gentlemen," said he, "that it is much easier and less distressing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets; however, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or prevent."

The exertions which were made by congress and the state governments, at length afforded relief, but in the mean time the army was supported only by the impressments of its detachments.

As the spring approached, unwearied diligence was used to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The troops received instruction from the Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great merit, and every possible effort was made to establish order, regularity, and discipline. Early in May, 1778, the intelligence was received, that France had recognised the independence of the United States by treaty, and the additional information, that although war between France and Great Britain had not been formally declared, it had commenced in fact. It was soon after known that a naval force, which had been preparing in the French ports in anticipation of this event, was to act on the American waters. This rendered Philadelphia an unsafe position to the British army, and Sir Henry Clinton, who about this time assumed the command, made immediate preparation to evacuate it.

He crossed the Delaware on the 18th of June, and slowly retired through New Jersey. WASHINGTON put his army in motion, and crossed the river a few miles above, and advanced on a line parallel to his adversary, with whom he was earnestly desirous to close, but in this he was opposed by the advice of his general officers; when, however, the enemy reached Monmouth court house, the spirit of enterprise, which had been so long restrained, determined him not to let the opportunity pass of once more striking at the foe. He accordingly took measures to draw on an engagement, and the battle of Monmouth was fought on the 28th of June. After a keenly contested action, both armies, overpowered by fatigue and the excessive heat of the day, suspended the combat on the approach of evening,

[redacted]utual consent. WASHINGTON, wrapped in his cloak, lay that night on the field in the midst of his soldiers, ready to renew the battle in the morning; but the enemy, under cover of the night, retired in silence, leaving two hundred and forty-nine of their dead on the field. The British army embarked at Sandy Hook, and sailed to New York, and the Americans once more took a position on the banks of the Hudson.

From this period until the summer of 1780, WASHINGTON was not present at any of the active operations of the war—these being chiefly conducted in the states south of the Chesapeake; in the mean time, "the wretched policy of short enlistments" laid him under the disadvantage of raising a new army every year, under circumstances of difficulty constantly increasing, until it had become almost impos sible to raise one at all. The alliance with France had induced the pleasing delusion in the public mind, that the war was in a measure over; that as the independence of the United States had been recognised by that nation, it must soon cease to be disputed by Great Britain. The enthusiasm of the people had subsided—they no longer viewed the cause as one in which each individual had to act a part in person, but as a common cause which all were to pay for; besides which, "the pernicious divisions and factions in congress" were fomented and increased until the prospect of a happy issue appeared to the chief more gloomy than at any former period. "I have seen without despondence," said he in private letter, "even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones; but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politic will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed, we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations, to which I have been a stranger until these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy, how effectually we labor for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators,

various tribes of money makers, and stock jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin." These causes certainly protracted the war, and encouraged the enemy to persevere. They determined to turn their force against the less populous states of the south, where their friends and foes were more equally balanced, and where opposition from the eastern states must be brought at great expense and loss of time.

But early in May, 1780, a change came over the aspect of affairs, which revived the latent energies and hopes of the country. Lafayette, after serving in the army with WASHINGTON from the battle of Brandywine to that of Monmouth, had returned to France, where he had made such a representation of American transactions, as had inspired his countrymen with his own generous sentiments—now presented himself in the American camp, with the promise from the king of speedy assistance by land and sea. In July, a French squadron under M. de Ternay, with between five and six thousand troops under the Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Newport. That no difficulties might arise between the allied forces, WASHINGTON had been invested with the chief command of his most Christian majesty's troops in America. Whilst the French ships lay at Newport, waiting the arrival of a reinforcement, several British ships of the line joined the fleet at New York, and gave it such a decided superiority, that the admiral sailed to Rhode Island to attack Ternay, and Sir Henry Clinton, with a great number of troops, proceeded some distance up the sound to coöperate by land. WASHINGTON immediately put his army in motion, and rapidly advanced towards Kingsbridge, but the sudden return of the British troops disappointed the hopes which had been formed of seizing New York in their absence. To recover that city, however, was a measure still contemplated by the commander-in-chief, and he took possession of the ground and threw up some works at Dobbs' ferry, ten miles above Kingsbridge; but the French squadron continuing to be blockaded in Newport by a superior force, prevented that concert of action which had been arranged with Rochambeau, and the season for active operations passed away without any important result. The army kept the field until December, when it retired to winter quarters. But winter quarters to the American soldiers, gave but a change of toils and an increase of suffering. The present season, like those which had preceded it, found them deficient of supplies—often

ent[redacted] without food, exposed to the rigors of winter without suitable clothing, and without pay for the services of the year. The long suffering patience of the army was at length exhausted, discontent spread through the ranks, venting itself in murmurs and complaints, and finally in an extensive revolt. This is not the place to recount the scenes which followed in consequence of the short sighted policy of the government, and the tardy movements of the states. We would not divert a line of our brief space from the direct purpose in hand, but so intimately blended is the life of WASHINGTON with the history of his time, that one cannot be entirely separated from the other; besides which, it is due to the character of the army of the revolution that the record should here be made, and our sympathy for other nations should never efface the transcript from our hearts—that for manly bearing and patient endurance, under trials and sufferings of every possible variety, in the main body and its divisions—whether in long and painful marches, in hunger, nakedness, poverty, or disease, in hospitals or in prison ships, in battle with the enemy, or in winter quarters, apparently neglected by their countrymen—that army has never been surpassed.

France, South America, Greece, Poland and Hungary, have since excited our sensibilities by their struggles for liberty, and the silent aspirations of our hearts, and the open actions of our hands, have borne testimony to our deep-felt interest in their success; but there is a duty which we owe at home akin to filial gratitude—to treat the few survivors of our revolutionary soldiery with profound veneration, and to lengthen the evening of their days by a kind attention to their wants.

In every situation in which WASHINGTON was placed during the momentous conflict, he adapted his means to the proposed end with equal firmness and judgment, and the winter of 1780–81 as fully tested his qualities as a military commander, under circumstances of peculiar hazard, as any other period of his command. With his army in the condition we have stated, (one half of which dissolved as usual on the first of January,) the main body of the British army in New York, with the Hudson open to their ships, he yet managed to suppress a mutiny; to keep his army in force; to check the operations of the enemy; to carry on an extensive correspondence with his detached officers, numerous influential individuals, and the state governments, by which he obtained funds to pay his soldiers in part; and, in addition, he made time to impress on the court of Versailles his own views of the present and future capabilities of the

country, and particularly pressing the importance of an immediate and ample supply of money, and the maintenance of a naval superiority on the American waters.

As the spring advanced, WASHINGTON'S plans were still directed against New York, that being the stronghold of the enemy's power in the northern states; and he confidently believed, if that could be reduced, the war would speedily terminate. For several months a predatory war had been carried on in the lower counties of Virginia by divisions of the British army, under Arnold and Phillips. When Cornwallis advanced from Carolina and took command there about the middle of May, he continued to carry on his operations with vigor, and although he gained no permanent advantage, he destroyed an immense amount of property. About the 1st of June, the campaign opened on the Hudson; the French auxiliaries advanced and formed a junction with the Americans, preparatory to a grand attack on New York. At this time, Sir Henry Clinton, being alarmed at the serious danger which menaced his position, recalled a part of his troops from Virginia; on this, Cornwallis retired to Portsmouth, but a reinforcement of near three thousand European troops arriving at New York, Clinton countermanded his orders, and directed Cornwallis to take a position on the Chesapeake and be ready to act on the neighboring states. A variety of circumstances, beyond the control of the commander-in-chief, rendering the projected enterprise against New York of doubtful expedience, his attention was turned towards the south, and when he learnt that de Grasse, with a large French fleet with three thousand soldiers on board, was to sail from Cape François to the Chesapeake, the naval superiority which would be thus obtained decided him in favor of southern operations. He directed Lafayette so to dispose of the forces in Virginia, that Cornwallis could not escape to Charleston, should he make the attempt; but the British commander, looking towards the sea-board for relief, as well as in compliance with his orders, collected his whole force, and entrenched himself at Yorktown.

WASHINGTON, after providing for the defence of the posts on the Hudson, led his army down the west side of that river, so as to mask his intention by exciting apprehensions for Staten Island, and it was not until he had passed the Delaware, that his real object was suspected by the British commander. When the allied army reached the Chesapeake, the French fleet had already arrived there, and the necessary preparations for the investment of Yorktown being completed in a few days, on the night of the 6th of October, the first parallel

was commenced within six hundred yards of the British lines, and the siege was pressed with such effective vigor, that on the 17th, Cornwallis, finding his position no longer tenable, beat a parley; and on the 19th, surrendered. The army, amounting to seven thousand men, with their arms, military chest, and public stores, were surrendered to WASHINGTON; the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse. This was the last military achievement in which the commander-in-chief was personally engaged.

Happily for the United States, the people of Great Britain, weary of the protracted and unsuccessful conflict, now became clamorous for peace; the determination of the king and his ministers at length gave way to the popular will; and negotiations were commenced on the basis of the independence of the thirteen provinces. The overruling care of a beneficent providence had been manifested in numerous events of the war, but in none more plainly than in this, that when the means of maintaining an organized resistance failed, they ceased to be necessary. But the prospect of peace and independence was dimmed by the abject poverty of the country, and by the gloomy fears of the course the army might adopt when its reduction should be ordered. For a long time it had been sustained by temporary expedients, and through 1782 almost the whole receipts of the treasury had been devoted to its subsistence alone. To pay the troops was impossible, and yet the public faith had been pledged, not only for their pay, but for half pay for life to the officers. This pledge had retained them in the field to the ruin of their private affairs; but it appeared certain that when they should be disbanded, the funds for that purpose would never be supplied as the requisite number of "the sovereign states" had not concurred in the measure.

As the negotiations for peace advanced, the irritation of the army increased. WASHINGTON saw the gathering storm, and determined to remain with the troops and give the weight of his influence to preserve the tranquillity of the country, although his presence in the camp had otherwise ceased to be necessary. In a private letter to the secretary of war, after expressing his conviction that the officers would return to private life with alacrity, could they be placed in suitable circumstances, he adds, "when I see such a number of men, goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and anticipation of the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and what they call the ingratitude of the public; involved in debt, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after

having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country; and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritating circumstances, unattended by one thing to sooth their feelings, or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious nature."

In December, 1782, when the army was settled in winter quarters near the Hudson, the important crisis approached. A general opinion prevailed that congress possessed neither the power nor the inclination to comply with its engagements to the army, and the officers, with a desire of removing the obnoxious features of the half pay establishment without foregoing their own rights, solicited from congress the payment of the money actually due them, and a commutation of the half pay for a sum in gross. Three months passed away without any prospect of relief; in the mean time the intelligence of peace was received. The irritable temper of the army now seemed to require but a slight impulse to impel it to a haughty demand of justice from the constituted authorities, or to assume the power of redressing their own grievances by some desperate effort. A meeting of the officers was called by an anonymous notice, and an address to the army was privately circulated, which was well calculated to inflame their passions and determine them to immediate action, "courting the auspices and inviting the direction of their illustrious leader." Fortunately the patriotism of "their illustrious leader" was far above the comprehension of that ambition which might have influenced a less noble spirit to "pass the Rubicon." At that moment the destinies of his country were undoubtedly in his keeping, and wisely great in resolution as in action, he turned the threatened evil to the glory of his country. The storm was stilled; the army was disbanded; and on the 4th of December, the chief bid adieu to his officers in New York. Endeared to each other by years of affectionate intercourse in peril and in triumph, the hour of their separation was solemn and affecting; the thoughts and feelings of the party—too intense for utterance—were expressed only by the silent tear, the warm grasp of the hand, and the quick pulsation of heart pressed to heart.

Every duty of the station to which he had been appointed, being now fulfilled, WASHINGTON hastened to Annapolis, where congress was then in session, and on the 23d, at an audience appointed for the purpose, he returned his commission to the hands from which

he had received it. Thus displaying the sublime spectacle of a triumphant warrior in the fulness of his fame, divesting himself of power, and dedicating the laurels he had won, upon the altar of his country. By his skill, firmness, perseverance, and industry; and by the happy union of prudence with courage, and a correct judgment with a spirit of enterprise, he had given liberty, peace, and a name among nations to his country; but by this last act of public virtue, he consummated his own glory, and "changed mankind's idea of political greatness." Every age has had its hero, but as a perfect pattern of pure, disinterested patriotism, WASHINGTON, as yet, remains without a parallel in the annals of the world. To call him *great*, would be to class him with the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and the Fredericks of other nations, he is therefore more justly, appropriately, and affectionately designated as "the father of his country."

WASHINGTON, having retired to Mount Vernon, he devoted his attention to the improvement of his plantation, with a resolution never again to appear in public life. "The scene is at length closed," said he, three days after his arrival there, "I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and the practice of the domestic virtues." With a mind capable of the most enlarged views, he traced the broad map of his country, and pointed out its capabilities and future greatness. In a letter to the earl of Buchan, written while engaged in promoting some works of immediate utility, he said, "if left undisturbed, we shall open a communication by water with all the lakes northward and westward of us, with which we have territorial connexions; and an inland in a few years more from Rhode Island to Georgia;" at the same time he regarded with attention every improvement in the economy of the farmer.

But the country was not at rest, and WASHINGTON had been too deeply interested in all that concerned it, to be allowed to withdraw his attention entirely from public affairs; indeed, the embarrassments of the government gave him great anxiety. While the general government was dependent on the separate action of thirteen independent state sovereignties, it struggled with difficulties which could not be removed, and it was soon discovered that the whole fabric must fall to ruin, or a new system be adopted. On this subject there existed a diversity of opinions in the country, which rendered the result for a long time doubtful. Tumults, insurrections, and commotions agitated all reflecting men. At length a convention was held at Philadelphia by the representatives of twelve states; WASHINGTON

was unanimously chosen president, and after a session of about four months, the present national constitution was framed, which being afterwards approved by the people of eleven states, became the supreme law.

No sooner were the public in possession of this instrument, than their attention was directed to WASHINGTON as the only man to be placed at the head of the nation. His consent was hard to win; but overcome by the entreaties of personal friends, and in obedience to the voice of the people, he once more gave himself to their service, and was unanimously elected the first president of the United States. "I wish," said he, when his election was announced, "that there may not be reason for regretting the choice, for indeed all I can promise, is to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal." Two days after, he "bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and domestic felicity," and proceeded to the seat of government.

His progress from Alexandria to New York was marked by demonstrations of veneration and affection: the manner of his reception at Trenton, was so truly appropriate and affecting, that it deserves especial notice. In addition to the usual military compliments, the bridge over the creek running through the town was covered by a triumphal arch supported by thirteen pillars, entwined and ornamented with flowers and laurel, and bearing on the front in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

Here were assembled the mothers and daughters, dressed in white, each bearing a basket of flowers, which were strown before the chief, while they sang in chorus,

Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims *at thee* the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your hero's way with flowers.

On the 23d of April, 1789, WASHINGTON arrived at New York, and on the 30th was inaugurated in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens, who rent the air with joyous acclamations.

His administration of the new government commenced under the pressure of numerous embarrassments; an empty treasury, millions of debt, domestic agitation, and foreign intrigue. The president filled the departments with able men, solely selected with a reference to justice and public good, and gave that cast to the administration of national affairs, which all his successors—however most of them may have differed from him in abstract opinions—have found it necessary to adopt and practice on great and important occasions.

In the fall of that year WASHINGTON visited the New England states, and experienced great satisfaction in witnessing the prosperous and happy condition of the people; in this tour he omitted Rhode Island, as that state had not then adopted the federal constitution, but he visited it in the following year; after which he retired to Mount Vernon, as the great change in his habits of life, and his close application to the duties of his station, had so much impaired his health, that a respite from official cares was not to be deferred. In 1791, he passed through the southern states, executing on his route the power invested in him of selecting the place for the future capital of the nation.

Although the constitution had been adopted by a majority of the people in all the states, there yet remained a strong party in most of them, jealous of the power of the government of the union, and zealous in their attachments to state sovereignty; men of the highest talents and purest integrity were divided in their opinions on this fundamental principle, which all the improvement in the condition of the country could not reconcile. Domestic prosperity and a few years of tranquillity might have allayed the violence of party excitement, but the turn of European affairs gave it a new impulse and a wider range.

When the French revolution began, it was hailed in America as the dawn of liberty in Europe; and as there were parts of the British treaty of peace which had not been promptly executed by that power, there existed a strong inclination to favor France. WASHINGTON decided on a neutral course, and the friends of the administration on this point, and the opposition, very generally became identified with the federal and anti-federal parties. The firmness and prudence of the president, aided by his weight of character, preserved the country from being precipitated into a war, but it was for a long time doubtful whether he would be able to withstand the tide of popular inclination.

The time for a new election having arrived, WASHINGTON was again unanimously chosen president.

We cannot enter upon the political history of this period, without stepping beyond the limits of our plan, and at last falling short of a satisfactory narrative. Of the sincerity of his opinions, the fact is sufficient that at the call of his country, he surrendered his choice of life, and risking his popularity and influence, as in the revolution he had risked his life and fortune, when all might be lost and, personally, nothing to be gained; of the wisdom of his measures, every succeeding year has borne ample testimony; of the deep, unwavering love he bore his country, his whole life gave evidence. He sought to execute the trust reposed in him by the people, honestly; to give a regular operation to the political machine, without violence and without intrigue. No machiavelian policy, no state trickery was practised; his friends and his foes always knew where to find him, and foreign powers learned to rely as much on his integrity as his own constituents. He had no local partialities to gratify, no local interests to subserve; he thought and acted for the welfare of the whole, as a nation, which was about to take its rank in the scale of empires, and on whose future character and destinies, his administration must have an enduring influence.

When the second term of office was about to expire, WASHINGTON declined a reëlection; and, with an anxiety worthy of his character, to render a lasting benefit to his country, he published a valedictory address, in which he warned, admonished, and advised, with the affectionate earnestness of a father and the sagacity of a sage, to guard against foreign influence, to avoid all interference with European politics, and the baneful violence of party spirit and sectional jealousy; above all, he urged the importance of "cherishing a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to the UNION, as the main pillar in the edifice of independence, the support of tranquillity at home and peace abroad; of safety, prosperity, and liberty."

After witnessing the inauguration of Mr. Adams as his successor in office, WASHINGTON hastened to seek at Mount Vernon that calm felicity, that happy retirement, which he had long fondly anticipated; but the din of war soon broke in upon the tranquil shades of his retreat. The spirit of the veteran soldier was roused by the insults offered to his country by France, and laying aside all considerations of age or ease, he accepted the chief command of the army of the United States, on condition that he should not be called into the field until

his presence became indispensable;—that necessity never occurred, but before peace was restored, WASHINGTON was no more.

On the night of the 13th of December, 1799, (having been exposed to a shower in the morning,) he was attacked by an inflammatory affection of the throat, and in twenty-four hours after, the first luminary of America was removed to a higher, brighter, happier sphere.

The shock of this event fell upon the country with the unexpected suddenness of an earthquake; dismay and affliction suspended all business; all ages and classes united in sorrow, and in demonstrations of veneration and love.

On the 18th the remains of Washington were deposited in the family vault at Mount Vernon, a spot now held sacred by the whole civilized world. Men high in rank, from every quarter of the globe, continue to visit his tomb, there to weep over the truth, that even the most eminent of the human race are mortal. A grateful country will take care that the grave of Washington shall never be neglected.

Having thus sketched the chief events in the life of this extraordinary man, very little more seems to be required: the value, the importance, the results of that life, are before the world. Instead of thirteen scattered, oppressed, and degraded colonies, struggling in poverty, and united only by the resolution to be free—we have a glorious land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, presenting already more than thirty free, rich, and independent states, and the prospect of attaining population, intelligence and wealth, far beyond what the world has ever yet seen.

We close in the language applied to Washington, used by Marshall and Adams: "Favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness." "For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal."

# MRS. MARTHA WASHINGTON.

DESCENDED from an ancient family, which first migrated to the colony of Virginia, in the person of the Reverend Orlando Jones, a clergyman of Wales: MARTHA DANDRIDGE was born in the county of New Kent, colony of Virginia, in May, 1732. The education of females, in the early days of the colonial settlements, was almost exclusively of a domestic character, and by instructors who were entertained in the principal families, that were too few and too "far between" to admit of the establishment of public schools. Of the early life of MISS DANDRIDGE, we are only able to record, that the young lady excelled in personal charms, which, with pleasing manners, and a general amiability of demeanor, caused her to be distinguished amid the fair ones who usually assembled at the court of Williamsburg, then held by the royal governors of Virginia.

At seventeen years of age, or in 1749, MISS DANDRIDGE was married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, of the White House, county of New Kent. This was a match of affection. The father of the bridegroom, the Honorable John Custis, of Arlington, a king's counsellor, had matrimonial views of a more ambitious character for his only son and heir, and was desirous of a connection with the Byrd family, of Westover, Colonel Byrd being, at that time, from his influence and vast possessions, almost a count palatine of Virginia. The counsellor having at length given his consent, the newly married pair settled at the White House, on the banks of the Pamunkey river, where Colonel Custis became an eminently successful planter. The fruits of this marriage were, a girl, who died in infancy, and Daniel, Martha, and John. Daniel was a child of much promise, and it was generally believed, that his untimely death hastened his father to the grave. Martha arrived at womanhood, and died at Mount Vernon in 1770, and John, the father of the biographer,*

*GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS, Esq., of Arlington, D. C.

perished while in the service of his country, and the suite of the commander-in-chief, at the siege of Yorktown, 1781, aged twenty-seven.

On the decease of her husband, which happened at about middle age, MRS. CUSTIS found herself at once a very young, and among the very wealthiest widows in the colony. Independently of extensive and valuable landed estates, the colonel left thirty thousand pounds sterling in money, with half that amount to his only daughter, Martha. It is related of this amiable gentleman, that, when on his death bed, he sent for a tenant, to whom, in settling an account, he was due one shilling. The tenant begged that the colonel, who had ever been most kind to his tenantry, would not trouble himself at all about such a trifle, as he, the tenant, had forgotten it long ago. "But I have not," rejoined the just and conscientious landlord, and bidding his creditor take up the coin, which had been purposely placed on his pillow, exclaimed, "Now my accounts are all closed with this world;" and shortly after expired. MRS. CUSTIS, as sole executrix, managed the extensive landed and pecuniary concerns of the estates with surprising ability, making loans, on mortgage, of moneys, and, through her stewards and agents, conducting the sales or exportation of the crops, to the best possible advantage.

While on the subject of the moneyed concerns of seventy years ago, we hope to be pardoned for a brief digression. The orchard of fine apple trees is yet standing near Bladensburg, that was presented to a Mr. Ross, by the father of the late venerated Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as a recompense for Mr. Ross's having introduced to Mr. Carroll a *good borrower* of his money. A Colonel T., one of the ancient dons of Maryland, being observed riding over the race course of Annapolis in a very disturbed and anxious manner, was accosted by his friends, with a "What 's the matter, colonel? Are you alarmed for the success of your filly, about to start?" "Oh no," replied T., "but I have a thousand pounds by me, to loan, and here have I been riding about the course the whole morning, and not a single borrower can I get for my money." We opine, that the same anxieties would not be long suffered now.

It was in 1758, that an officer, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body servant, tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams', over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York iver. On the boat touching the southern, or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages, who give the beau ideal of the Virginia gentleman of the old regime, the very

soul of kindliness and hospitality. It was in vain the soldier urged his business at Williamsburg, important communications to the governor, &c. Mr. Chamberlayne, on whose domain the militaire had just landed, would hear of no excuse. Colonel Washington was a name and character so dear to all the Virginians, that his passing by one of the old castles of Virginia, without calling and partaking of the hospitalities of the host, was entirely out of the question. The colonel, however, did not surrender at discretion, but stoutly maintained his ground, till Chamberlayne bringing up his reserve, in the intimation that he would introduce his friend to a young and charming widow, then beneath his roof, the soldier capitulated, on condition that he should dine, only dine, and then, by pressing his charger and borrowing of the night, he would reach Williamsburg before his excellency could shake off his morning slumbers. Orders were accordingly issued to Bishop, the colonel's body servant and faithful follower, who, together with the fine English charger, had been bequeathed by the dying Braddock to Major Washington, on the famed and fatal field of the Monongahela. Bishop, bred in the school of European discipline, raised his hand to his cap, as much as to say, "Your honor's orders shall be obeyed."

The colonel now proceeded to the mansion, and was introduced to various guests, (for when was a Virginian domicil of the olden time without guests?) and above all, to the charming widow. Tradition relates that they were mutually pleased on this their first interview, nor is it remarkable; they were of an age when impressions are strongest. The lady was fair to behold, of fascinating manners, and splendidly endowed with worldly benefits. The hero, fresh from his early fields, redolent of fame, and with a form on which "every god did seem to set his seal, to give the world assurance of a man."

The morning passed pleasantly away, evening came, with Bishop, true to his orders and firm at his post, holding the favorite charger with the one hand, while the other was waiting to offer the ready stirrup. The sun sank in the horizon, and yet the colonel appeared not. And then the old soldier marvelled at his chief's delay. "'T was strange, 't was passing strange"—surely he was not wont to be a single moment behind his appointments, for he was the most punctual of all punctual men. Meantime, the host enjoyed the scene of the veteran on duty at the gate, while the colonel was so agreeably employed in the parlor; and proclaiming that no guest ever left his house after sunset, his military visiter was, without much difficulty, persuaded to order Bishop to put up the horses for the night. The

sun rode high in the heavens the ensuing day, when the enamored soldier pressed with his spur his charger's side, and speeded on his way to the seat of government, where, having despatched his public business, he retraced his steps, and, at the White House, the engagement took place, with preparations for the marriage.

And much hath the biographer heard of that marriage, from gray-haired domestics, who waited at the board where love made the feast and Washington was the guest. And rare and high was the revelry, at that palmy period of Virginia's festal age; for many were gathered to that marriage, of the good, the great, the gifted, and the gay, while Virginia, with joyous acclamation, hailed in her youthful hero a prosperous and happy bridegroom.

"And so you remember when Colonel Washington came a courting of your mistress?" said the biographer to old Cully, in his hundredth year. "Aye, master, that I do," replied this ancient family servant, who had lived to see five generations; "great times, sir, great times! Shall never see the like again!" "And Washington looked something like a man, a proper man; hey, Cully?" "Never seed the like, sir; never the likes of him, tho' I have seen many in my day: so tall, so straight! and then he sat a horse and rode with such an air! Ah, sir; he was like no one else! Many of the grandest gentlemen, in their gold lace, were at the wedding, but none looked like the man himself!" Strong, indeed, must have been the impressions which the person and manner of Washington made upon the rude, "untutor'd mind" of this poor negro, since the lapse of three quarters of a century had not sufficed to efface them.

The precise date of the marriage, the biographer has been unable to discover, having in vain searched among the records of the vestry of St. Peter's church, New Kent, of which the Reverend Mr. Mossom, a Cambridge scholar, was the rector, and performed the ceremony, it is believed, about 1759. A short time after their marriage, Colonel and MRS. WASHINGTON removed to Mount Vernon on the Potomac, and permanently settled there.

The mansion of Mount Vernon, more than seventy years ago, was a very small building, compared with its present extent, and the numerous out buildings attached to it. The mansion house consisted of four rooms on a floor, forming the centre of the present building, and remained pretty much in that state up to 1774, when Colonel Washington repaired to the first congress in Philadelphia, and from thence to the command-in-chief of the armies of his country, assembled before Cambridge, July, 1775. The commander-in-chief returned

no more to reside at Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783. MRS. or LADY WASHINGTON, as we shall now call her, such being the appellation she always bore in the army, accompanied the general to the lines before Boston, and witnessed its siege and evacuation She then returned to Virginia, the subsequent campaigns being of too momentous a character to allow of her accompanying the army.

At the close of each campaign an aid-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon, to escort the lady to the head-quarters. The arrival of LADY WASHINGTON at camp was an event much anticipated, and was always the signal for the ladies of the general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of the aid-de-camp, escorting the plain chariot, with the neat postillions in their scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. LADY WASHINGTON always remained at the head-quarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked, in after life, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening, and the last at the closing, of all the campaigns of the revolutionary war. During the whole of that mighty period when we struggled for independence, LADY WASHINGTON preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness that inspired all around her with the brightest hopes for our ultimate success. To her alone a heavy cloud of sorrow hung over the conclusion of the glorious campaign of 1781. Her only child, while attending to his duties as aid-de-camp to the general-in-chief, during the siege of Yorktown, was seized with an attack of the camp fever, then raging to a frightful extent within the enemy's intrenchments. Ardently attached to the cause of his country, having witnessed many of the most important events of the revolutionary contest, from the siege of Boston, in 1775, to the virtual termination of the war in 1781, the sufferer beheld the surrender of the British army on the memorable 19th of October, and was thence removed to Eltham, in New Kent, where he was attended by Dr. Craik, chief of the medical staff. Washington, learning the extreme danger of his step-son, to whom he was greatly attached, privately left the camp before Yorktown, while yet it rang with the shouts of victory, and, attended by a single officer, rode with all speed to Eltham. It was just day dawn when the commander-in-chief sprung from his panting charger, and summoning Dr. Craik to his presence, inquired if there was any hope. Craik shook his head, when the chief, being shown into a private room, threw himself on a bed

absorbed in grief. The poor sufferer, being in his last agonies, soon after expired. The general remained for some time closeted with his lady, then remounted and returned to the camp.

It was after the peace of 1783, that General Washington set in earnest about the improvements in building and laying off the gardens and grounds that now adorn Mount Vernon. He continued in these gratifying employments, occasionally diversified by the pleasures of the chase, till 1787, when he was called to preside in the convention that formed the present constitution, and in 1789, left his beloved retirement to assume the chief magistracy of the union. During the residence of General and MRS. WASHINGTON at Mount Vernon, after the peace of 1783, the ancient mansion, always the seat of hospitality, was crowded with guests. The officers of the French and American armies, with many strangers of distinction, hastened to pay their respects to the victorious general, now merged into the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon. During these stirring times MRS. WASHINGTON performed the duties of a Virginia housewife, and presided at her well-spread board, with that ease and elegance of manners which always distinguished her. At length the period arrived when General and MRS. WASHINGTON were to leave the delights of retirement, and to enter upon new and elevated scenes of life. The unanimous voice of his country hailed the hero who had so lately led her armies to victory, as the chief magistrate of the young empire about to dawn upon the world.

The president and his lady bid adieu with extreme regret, to the tranquil and happy shades where a few years of repose had, in great measure, effaced the effects of the toils and anxieties of war; where a little Eden had bloomed and flourished under their fostering hands; and where a numerous circle of friends and relatives would sensibly feel the privation of their departure. They departed, and hastened to where duty called the man of his country.

The journey to New York, in 1789, was a continued triumph. The august spectacle at the bridge of Trenton brought tears to the eyes of the chief, and forms one of the most brilliant recollections of the age of Washington.

Arrived at the seat of the federal government, the president and MRS. WASHINGTON formed their establishment upon a scale that, while it partook of all the attributes of our republican institutions, possessed at the same time that degree of dignity and regard for appearances, so necessary to give to our infant republic respect in the eyes of the world. The house was handsomely furnished; the

equipages neat, with horses of the first order; the servants wore the family liveries; and, with the exception of a steward and housekeeper, the whole establishment differed but little from that of a private gentleman. On Tuesdays, from three to four o'clock, the president received the foreign ambassadors and strangers who wished to be introduced to him. On these occasions, and when opening the sessions of congress, the president wore a dress sword. His personal apparel was always remarkable for its being old fashioned, and exceedingly plain and neat. On Thursdays were the congressional dinners, and on Friday nights, MRS. WASHINGTON'S drawing room. The company usually assembled about seven, and rarely staid exceeding ten o'clock. The ladies were seated, and the president passed around the circle, paying his compliments to each. At the drawing rooms, Mrs. Morris always sat at the right of the lady president, and at all the dinners, public or private, at which Robert Morris was a guest, that venerable man was placed at the right of MRS. WASHINGTON. When ladies called at the president's mansion, the habit was for the secretaries and gentlemen of the president's household to hand them to and from their carriages; but when the honored relicts of Greene and Montgomery came to the presidoliad, the president himself performed these complimentary duties.

On the great national festivals of the fourth of July and twenty-second of February, the sages of the revolutionary congress and the officers of the revolutionary army renewed their acquaintance with MRS. WASHINGTON; many and kindly greetings took place, with many a recollection of the days of trial. The Cincinnati, after paying their respects to their chief, were seen to file off toward the parlor, where LADY WASHINGTON was in waiting to receive them, and where Wayne, and Mifflin, and Dickenson, and Stewart, and Moylan, and Hartley, and a host of veterans, were cordially welcomed as old friends, and where many an interesting reminiscence was called up, of the head-quarters and the "times of the revolution."

On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the president and MRS. WASHINGTON attended divine service at Christ church; and in the evenings, the president read to MRS. WASHINGTON, in her chamber, a sermon, or some portion from the sacred writings. No visiters, with the exception of Mr. Speaker Trumbull, were admitted to the presidoliad on Sundays.

There was one description of visiters, however, to be found about the first president's mansion on all days. The old soldiers repaired, as they said, to head-quarters, just to inquire after the health of his

excellency and LADY WASHINGTON. They knew his excellency was of course much engaged; but they would like to see the good lady. One had been a soldier of the life guard; another had been on duty when the British threatened to surprise the head-quarters; a third had witnessed that terrible fellow, Cornwallis, surrender his sword: each one had some touching appeal, with which to introduce himself to the peaceful head-quarters of the presidoliad. All were "kindly bid to stay," were conducted to the steward's apartments, and refreshments set before them; and, after receiving some little token from the lady, with her best wishes for the health and happiness of an old soldier, they went their ways, while blessings upon their revered commander and the good LADY WASHINGTON, were uttered by many a war-worn veteran of the revolution.

In the spring of 1797, General and MRS. WASHINGTON, bidding adieu to public life, took their leave of the seat of government and journeyed to the south, prepared in good earnest to spend the remnant of their days in their beloved retirement of Mount Vernon. The general reassumed with delight his agricultural employments, while the lady bustled again amid her domestic concerns, showing that neither time nor her late elevated station had in any wise impaired her qualifications for a Virginia housewife, and she was now verging upon threescore and ten.

But for Washington to be retired at Mount Vernon or any where else, was out of the question. Crowds which had hailed the victorious general as the deliverer of his country, and called him with acclamation to the chief magistracy of the infant empire, now pressed to his retirement, to offer their love and admiration to the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon.

MRS. WASHINGTON was an uncommonly early riser, leaving her pillow at day dawn at all seasons of the year, and becoming at once actively engaged in her household duties. After breakfast she retired for an hour to her chamber, which hour was spent in prayer and reading the Holy Scriptures, a practice that she never omitted during half a century of her varied life.

Two years had passed happily at Mount Vernon; for although the general, yielding to the claims of his country, had again accepted the command-in-chief of her armies, yet he had stipulated with government that he should not leave his retirement, unless upon the actual invasion of an enemy. It was while engaged in projecting new and ornamental improvements in his grounds, that the fiat of the Almighty went forth, calling the being, the measure of whose earthly fame was

filled to overflowing, to his great reward in higher and better worlds. The illness was short and severe. MRS. WASHINGTON left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bedside, her head resting upon her Bible, which had been her solace in the many and heavy afflictions she had undergone. Dr. Craik, the early friend and companion in arms of the chief, replaced the hand, which was almost pulseless, upon the pillow, while he turned away to conceal the tears that fast chased each other down his furrowed cheeks. The last effort of the expiring Washington was worthy of the Roman fame of his life and character. He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attentions, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and folding his arms upon his bosom, the father of his country expired, gently as though an infant died!

The afflicted relict could with difficulty be removed from the chamber of death, to which she returned no more, but occupied other apartments for the residue of her days.

By an arrangement with government, MRS. WASHINGTON yielded the remains of the chief to the prayer of the nation, as expressed through its representatives in congress, conditioning that at her decease, her own remains should accompany those of her husband to the capital.

When the burst of grief which followed the death of the pater patriæ had a little subsided, visits of condolence to the bereaved lady were made by the first personages of the land. The president of the United States, with many other distinguished individuals, repaired to Mount Vernon, while letters, addresses, funeral orations, and all the tokens of sorrow and respect, loaded the mails from every quarter of the country, offering the sublime tribute of a nation's mourning for a nation's benefactor.

Although the great sun of attraction had sunk in the west, still the radiance shed by his illustrious life and actions drew crowds of pilgrims to his tomb. The establishment of Mount Vernon was kept up to its former standard, and the lady presided with her wonted ease and dignity of manner at her hospitable board; she relaxed not in her attentions to her domestic concerns, performing the arduous duties of the mistress of so extensive an establishment, although in the sixty-ninth year of her age, and evidently suffering in her spirits, from the heavy bereavement she had so lately sustained.

In little more than two years from the demise of the chief, MRS. WASHINGTON became alarmingly ill from an attack of bilious fever.

From her advanced age, the sorrow that had preyed upon her spirits, and the severity of the attack, the family physician gave but little hope of a favorable issue. The lady herself was perfectly aware that her hour was nigh; she assembled her grand-children at her bedside, discoursed to them on their respective duties through life, spoke of the happy influences of religion upon the affairs of this world, of the consolations they had afforded her in many and trying afflictions, and of the hopes they held out of a blessed immortality; and then, surrounded by her weeping relatives, friends, and domestics, the venerable relict of Washington resigned her life into the hands of her Creator, in the seventy-first year of her age.

Agreeably to her direction, her remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and entombed by the side of those of the chief, to await the pleasure of the government.

In person, MRS. WASHINGTON was well formed, and somewhat below the middle size. To judge from her portrait at Arlington House, done by Woolaston, when she was in the bloom of life, she must at that period have been eminently handsome. In her dress, though plain, she was so scrupulously neat, that ladies have often wondered how MRS. WASHINGTON could wear a gown for a week, go through her kitchen and laundries, and all the varieties of places in the routine of domestic management, and yet the gown retain its snow-like whiteness, unsullied by even a single speck. In her conduct to her servants, her discipline was prompt, yet humane, and her household was remarkable for the excellence of its domestics.

Our filial task is done. Few females have ever figured in the great drama of life, amid scenes so varied and imposing, with so few faults and so many virtues as the subject of this brief memoir. Identified with the father of his country in the great events which led to the establishment of a nation's independence, MRS. WASHINGTON necessarily partook much of his thoughts, his councils, and his views. Often at his side in that awful period that "tried men's souls," her cheerfulness soothed his anxieties, her firmness inspired confidence, while her devotional piety toward the Supreme Being enabled her to discern a ray of hope, amid the darkness of an horizon clouded by despair.

After a long life abounding in vicissitudes, having a full measure of sorrows but with many and high enjoyments, the venerable MARTHA WASHINGTON descended to the grave, cheered by the prospect of a blessed immortality, and mourned by the millions of a mighty empire.

# THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born on the 2d day of April, 1743, at Shadwell, in Albemarle county, Virginia. His ancestors had emigrated to that province at an early period; their standing in the community was highly respectable, and they lived in circumstances of considerable affluence. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a person much esteemed and well known; he had been one of the commissioners for determining the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, and at his death he left his son an ample and unembarrassed fortune.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was educated at the college of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, and, after distinguishing himself there, by his habits of patience and labor, became a student of law under the well known George Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state of Virginia. On coming of age, he was admitted to the bar, appointed a justice of the peace for the county in which he lived, and, at the election following, chosen one of its representatives in the provincial legislature. His mind seems to have been imbued from his earliest youth with the most liberal political sentiments. On one of his seals, engraved about this time, the motto was "Ab eo libertas, à quo spiritus;" and on another, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." These feelings gained strength from the position of public affairs. From the year 1763, a spirit of opposition to the British government gradually rose in the province, until, in 1769, it assumed the shape of a formal resolution not to import articles from the mother country; this resolution Mr. JEFFERSON signed himself, and promoted with all his influence.

On the 1st of January, 1772, he married the daughter of Mr Wayles, an eminent lawyer of Virginia, and, in the amiable and accomplished character of the lady, secured that domestic happiness which his own disposition so well fitted him to enjoy. Its duration, however, was but short; in little more than ten years, death deprived him of his wife, and left him the sole guardian of two infant daughters, to whose educa-

tion he devoted himself with a zeal that might compensate them for their untimely loss.

In the early part of 1773, the first organized system of colonial resistance was established by the formation of committees of correspondence in the different provinces. This plan was devised and arranged by Mr. JEFFERSON, who privately assembled some of the bolder spirits of the state, at a public house called the Raleigh tavern, in Richmond, and suggested it to them. It was eagerly adopted, and its benefits became strikingly apparent, when in the following year the measures of the British government showed the increased necessity of united and resolute resistance. The passage of the Boston port act, and the bills which immediately followed it, had filled up the measure of insult and oppression. At this crisis, not content with his labors, which were constant as a member of the legislature, he wrote and published "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." This he designed as an exposition, to be laid before the British sovereign, of the wrongs inflicted on America, and the sort of redress she would demand. "Open your breast, sire," he says, addressing the king, "to liberal and expanded thought. It behoves you to think and act for your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to peruse them, requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest." For this publication, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, threatened to prosecute him on a charge of high treason, and dissolved the legislature who had by their resolutions sustained the same doctrines. When the conciliatory propositions of the British ministry were sent out in the following year, the legislature was again assembled, and they were referred to a committee, who immediately presented a reply from the pen of Mr. JEFFERSON. This document, which is to be found in the histories of that period, has ever been considered as a state paper of the highest order; and it announced, in a great degree, the same sentiments as those which its author afterwards promulgated in the declaration of independence. It was hardly drawn up, when he was called to a wider scene. The colonies had determined to unite together, and send delegates to a general congress. In this body, then in session at Philadelphia, Mr. JEFFERSON took his seat on the 21st of June, 1775, and became immediately, what he always continued to be, one of its most distinguished members. In the following summer, the debates of congress, and the various expressions of public sentiment, showed that the time had arrived for a final and entire separation from Great Britain; and a committee was

appointed to draft a declaration to that effect. Of this, Mr. JEFFERSON was the chairman, and prepared, in conformity to the instructions of congress, the declaration of independence, which, after a few alterations, was adopted on the 4th of July, 1776.

During the summer of this year, Mr. JEFFERSON took an active part in the public deliberations and business. Being obliged, however, in the autumn, to return to Virginia, he was during his absence appointed, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, a commissioner to the court of France, for the purpose of arranging with that nation a measure, now become of vital necessity, the formation of treaties of alliance and commerce. Owing to his ill health, the situation of his family, and the state of public affairs in his own state, he considered it more useful for him to remain in America, and therefore declined the appointment. He also, shortly afterwards, resigned his situation in congress, and, being elected to the first legislature assembled under the new constitution in Virginia, seized that favorable occasion to introduce changes and amendments in the laws and institutions, founded on the just and great principles of the social compact. He was supported by able coadjutors, it is true; but the leading and most important laws were prepared by him, and carried chiefly by his own efforts. The first of these measures was to introduce a bill preventing the importation of slaves; this he followed up by destroying entails, and abolishing the rights of primogeniture: the overthrow of the church establishment, which had been introduced in imitation of that of England, was a task of less ease, but effected at length by his continued efforts. To these four cardinal measures is to be added his labor in revising and reducing to system the various and irregular enactments of the colonial government and the mother country. It was, perhaps, the most severe of his public services. It consisted of a hundred and twenty-six bills, comprising and remodelling the whole statutory law; and, though not all enacted as he contemplated, so as to make a single and complete code, they have formed the admirable basis of the jurisprudence of Virginia.

In June, 1779, he was elected governor of Virginia, and reëlected the next year. This was a season of imminent peril: the state was invaded at once on the north and the south, ravaged by the troops of Tarleton and Arnold, and he himself made the object of particular pursuit. Amid all these difficulties, he conducted the affairs of the state with a prudence and energy, the more to be appreciated and honored, from the unpropitious circumstances under which they were displayed. The legislature, after the expiration of his term, passed a

unanimous resolution expressing to him their thanks for his services, and their high opinion of his ability, rectitude, and integrity.

In June, 1783, Mr. JEFFERSON was again elected a delegate to congress from the state of Virginia, and, while in that body, was intrusted with preparing the beautiful address made by congress to General Washington, when he surrendered his commission, and took leave of public life. He was also the chairman of a committee appointed to form a plan for a temporary government in the vast territory yet unsettled, west of the mountains. Never forgetting his purpose, to provide for the ultimate emancipation of the negroes, he introduced a clause forbidding the existence of slavery in it, after the year 1800.

On the 7th of May, 1784, congress decided that a minister plenipotentiary should be appointed, in addition to Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of commerce. To this honorable office Mr. JEFFERSON was immediately elected, and in the month of July sailed for France, where he arrived on the 6th of August. He remained in Europe till the 23d of November, 1789, visiting, during that period, Holland, the northern parts of Italy, and the principal seaports on the southern and western coasts of France. He also crossed over to England, and endeavored, in concert with Mr. Adams, to effect a commercial treaty. Their efforts, however, were unavailing; and after a fruitless visit of seven weeks in London, he returned to Paris.

While Mr. JEFFERSON resided in France, he was engaged in many diplomatic negotiations of considerable importance to his own country. He induced the government to abolish several monopolies; he secured the free admission of tobacco, rice, whale-oil, salted fish, and flour; and he obtained the right of exporting the two latter articles to the West Indies. Among men of letters, science, and high political distinction, he was received with marked kindness, and soon regarded as no unworthy successor of the illustrious Franklin. The Abbé Morrellet translated his little work on Virginia; Condorcet and D'Alembert claimed him as their friend; and he was invited and welcomed among the literary institutions, and the most brilliant social assemblies of Paris. During the remainder of his stay there, he was an eye-witness too of the extraordinary occurrences in public affairs which took place in rapid succession. As the representative of a nation which had given a brilliant example of free institutions, he was himself an object of interest and attention to the actors in these new scenes. He was, from circumstances, much acquainted with the leading patriots of the national assembly, and they were naturally

disposed to seek his advice, and place confidence in his opinions. These he never hesitated to avow, so far as his position, as a public functionary, admitted him with propriety to do. His stay did not extend to the fatal period which was marked by the horrible excesses of popular frenzy; and the interest he took in the French revolution was warmed by the hope that a noble people were to be redeemed from despotism to rational liberty.

In November, 1789, he obtained leave of absence, and returned to the United States on a temporary visit. He found the new federal government in operation, and, after some hesitation, accepted the office of secretary of state, which was offered him by General Washington, instead of returning, as he had intended, to his post of minister to France. Though absent when the constitution was adopted, he had seen too glaringly the inefficiency of the former imperfect confederation, not to rejoice at its formation. Of the great mass of it he approved, though there were points in which he thought there was not adequate security for individual rights. Most of these were afterwards provided for, in amendments ratified by the states. In his practical interpretations of that instrument, and the various powers it confers, he at once adopted the more popular view; and in the course of those political contests, which soon afterward arose on this subject, he became the head of the party which sustained it. While in the department of state, he laid down the great maxims relative to our foreign intercourse which were ever after regarded as the true ones by the American people. Among other negotiations he became especially engaged in one with the ministers from the French republic, which seriously involved the political rights of the United States, as a neutral nation, and led to the adoption and assertion of that policy, since so emphatically confirmed, of preserving peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations, but entering into entangling alliances with none. This correspondence forms one of the most important and interesting features in our political history, and while it laid down, on a solid basis, the foundations and rules of our foreign intercourse, it developed with great strength of argument nearly all the leading principles which ought to govern the conduct of a neutral nation. In devoting himself to those measures of domestic policy which were appropriate to his office, he called the attention of congress to one subject, the nature and importance of which not only demanded the exercise of his mature judgment, but required in its investigation that scientific knowledge which his studies had enabled him to acquire. This was a uniform system of currency, weights,

and measures. His report abounds with the most enlightened views of this important practical subject, and it is only to be regretted tha' they were not adopted at that early period. If they had been, we should long ere this have been relieved from the incongruities of a system made by custom every day worse. Mr. JEFFERSON also presented to congress an elaborate and valuable memoir on the subject of the cod and whale fisheries, and he recommended many measures judiciously adapted to defeat the efforts of foreign governments against our increasing commerce, and to open new markets for our enterprise. His last act as secretary of state was a report on the nature and extent of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with other countries, and on the best means of counteracting them. This document displayed much ability, and attracted great attention. It gave rise to one of the longest and most interesting discussions which have ever agitated the national legislature. It was the foundation of a series of resolutions, proposed by Mr. Madison, sanctioning the views it embraced; and it became in fact the ostensible subject whereon the federal and republican parties distinctly arrayed themselves against each other.

On the 31st of December, 1793, Mr. JEFFERSON resigned his office, and retired to private life. He there devoted himself to the education of his family, the cultivation of his estate, and the pursuit of his philosophical studies, which he had so long abandoned, and to which he returned with new ardor. The Duke de Liancourt, a French gentleman travelling at that time through the United States, visited him at Monticello, and has given a pleasing narrative of the manner in which the life of the retired statesman was past. "His conversation," he says, "is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to any other man. In Europe he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there. At present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and pursues in the minutest detail, every branch of business relating to them. I found him in the midst of harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. Every article is made on his farm; his negroes being cabinet-makers, carpenters, and masons. The children he employs in a nail manufactory; and the young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them all by rewards and distinctions. In fine, his superior mind directs the management of

his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity, and regularity, which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life." It was at this period of his retirement, that he received a testimony of his merits with which he was peculiarly gratified. He was unanimously elected president of the American Philosophical Society, the oldest and most distinguished institution of the kind in the United States. The chair had been filled, first by the illustrious Franklin, and since by Rittenhouse, one of the ablest astronomers of the age. To be chosen as their successor, was an honor to which Mr. JEFFERSON could not be insensible; and during the long period that he presided over the society, he repaid their compliment by promoting the cause of science with constant zeal, and extending to it all the advantages which his public rank and private connections enabled him to afford.

Mr. JEFFERSON was not, however, long permitted by his countrymen to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement. In the month of September, 1796, General Washington, in his farewell address, made known to the people his wish not to be again a candidate for the presidency. The two parties which, as has been observed, had gradually grown up in the republic, no longer able to unite, as in the case of Washington, on a single individual to whom both were willing to confide the administration of public affairs, now determined each to support a candidate, whose political opinions were entirely congenial with their own. Mr. JEFFERSON was selected by the democratic party; Mr. Adams by the federalists; and on counting the votes, the highest number appearing in favor of the latter, he was declared president, and the former vice-president. During the succeeding four years, the public duties of Mr. JEFFERSON did not, from the nature of his office, require much personal exertion; and the greater part of his time was passed tranquilly at Monticello. When the period for another election arrived, however, he was again called forward as the popular candidate in opposition to Mr. Adams, and with more success than on the preceding occasion. Yet an accident went near to defeat the acknowledged wishes and intentions of the people. The democratic party had elected Mr. JEFFERSON as president, and Mr. Burr as vice-president, by an equal number of votes; but as the constitution required no specification of the respective office for which each was chosen, they came before congress, neither having the majority necessary by law. Under these circumstances, the election devolved upon the house of representatives, and the opponents of Mr. JEFFERSON, taking advantage of the occurrence, threw their votes into the scale of

Mr. Burr. This led to a protracted and most exciting contest. At length, after thirty-five ineffectual ballots, one of the representatives of the state of Maryland made public the contents of a letter to himself, written by Mr. Burr, in which he declined all pretensions to the presidency, and authorised him, in his name, to disclaim any competition with Mr. JEFFERSON. On this specific declaration, two federal members who represented states which had before voted blank, withdrew; this permitted the republican members from those states to become a majority, and instead of putting a blank into the box to vote positively for Mr. JEFFERSON. On the thirty-sixth ballot, therefore, he was elected president, and Mr. Burr vice-president.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Mr. JEFFERSON entered on his first presidential term. In his inaugural address, delivered on that day in the presence of both houses of congress, he stated, with great eloquence of language and with admirable clearness and precision, the political principles by which he intended to be governed in the administration of public affairs. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public opinion; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trials by juries impartially selected. "These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. To the attainment of them," he concludes, "have been

devoted the wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust: and, should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The administration of Mr. JEFFERSON embraces a long and interesting period in the history of our country, distinguished by important measures, whose consequences have been felt in later periods, and which have led to results affecting, in no inconsiderable degree, the honor and prosperity of the nation. They are subjects demanding the research and deliberation of the historian; we can here briefly allude only to their more prominent and general features. The system of foreign policy which he adopted, tended to increase our prosperity, and secure our rights. The aggressions of the Tripolitans were gallantly and promptly chastised, and the attempts made by the agents of the Spanish government, to deprive us of the right of navigating the Mississippi, were immediately noticed and repelled. Mr. JEFFERSON, while secretary of state, directed his attention particularly to secure to the inhabitants of the western country every advantage for their trade; but it had, notwithstanding, been constantly invaded. His renewed efforts resulted, after considerable negotiation, in the purchase of the vast territory known as Louisiana. This fortunate acquisition secured an independent outlet for the western states, and placed under the republican institutions of America a region whose fertility, climate, and extent have already afforded a large and increasing revenue, as well as a field for the wide diffusion of the blessings of freedom and equal laws. During the same interval, the internal policy of the United States underwent several important changes. Measures were adopted for the speedy discharge of the public debt; the judiciary system was restored to the original plan, founded by those who formed the constitution; a salutary reduction was introduced into the habitual expenditures of the government; offices tending to increase executive influence were voluntarily suppressed; and the president presented the noble spectacle of a chief magistrate relinquishing power and patronage, where he could do so. by existing laws, and where he could not, seeking the aid of the legislature for the same honorable purpose.

So much was the administration of Mr. JEFFERSON approved, that, when his term of service expired, he was again elected, and by a majority which had increased from eight votes to one hundred and

forty-eight. In his inaugural address, delivered on the 4th of March 1805, he asserted his determination to act up to those principles, on which he believed it his duty to administer the affairs of the common wealth, and which had been already sanctioned by the unequivoca approbation of his country. "I do not fear," he said, "that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice; but the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence I have heretofore experienced; the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power." He had scarcely entered on his office when an event occurred, threatening seriously the domestic tranquillity of the country, and even the constitution and the union itself. This was the conspiracy of Colonel Burr, who, ardent and ambitious, formerly disappointed in reaching the first office of the government, when it seemed within his grasp, and since superseded in the second by the election of Mr. Clinton, now aimed, by desperate enterprise, either to establish a new republic in the Spanish provinces of the west, or to divide that of his own country. His scheme was discovered, and he was himself eventually apprehended and tried for treason. The evidence was not sufficient to establish his presence at the illegal assemblages which were proved, or the use of any force against the authority of the United States, in consequence of which he was acquitted.

The foreign relations of the United States, however, at this period assumed an importance exceeding all domestic affairs. Nearly the whole of their revenue depended on commerce; this, in the war between France and Great Britain, had sustained from both powers the most severe and unprincipled aggressions, and to these there were added, especially in the proceedings of the latter nation, circumstances so aggravated as to leave the American nation no honorable course, but that of prompt retaliation. Under ordinary circumstances, the natural and just resort would have been to war; but the government, interests, and situation of America required the trial and failure of every other alternative before that was adopted. An embargo presented itself as a measure, if not decisive, at least preparatory; and on

the 22d of December, 1807, an act of congress establishing one was passed, on the recommendation of Mr. JEFFERSON. At first this measure appeared to promise a successful result. In January, 1809, after it had existed a year, overtures were made by the British government, which indicated a disposition on their part to recede from the ground they had taken; and these were preceded by the repeal of some of their most objectionable measures. In this situation were the foreign relations of the United States, when Mr. JEFFERSON'S second term of office expired, and when he retired from the elevated position in which his countrymen had placed him. To trace this subject further, therefore, belongs to general history, and to the political biography of his successor, who had been early his pupil, and afterwards his friend and political supporter.

On the 3d of March, 1809, Mr. JEFFERSON closed his political career; he had reached the age of sixty-five; he had been engaged, almost without interruption, for forty years, in the most arduous public duties; he had passed through the various stations to which his country had called him with unsullied honor and distinguished reputation; and he now, therefore, determined to leave the scene, while yet unoppressed by the infirmities of age, and to pass the evening of his life in the calmness of domestic and philosophical retirement. From this time until his death, with the exception of excursions which business required, he resided altogether at Monticello. He indeed appeared occasionally before his countrymen, by publications of his private correspondence, which proved the same purity of intention, the same earnest zeal in the promotion of liberal opinions, and the same intelligence, forethought, and firmness, which distinguished the actions of his earlier life. He was called forward, from time to time, by repeated requests to connect himself with rising institutions, constantly forming to promote science, taste, and literature; for it was a subject of natural and honorable pride, to unite with these a name always distinguished for attention to whatever improved or adorned human life. Above all, he was sought out in his retirement by strangers from every foreign nation who had heard of and admired him; and by the natives of every corner of his own country, who looked upon him as their guide, philosopher, and friend. His home was the abode of hospitality and the seat of dignified retirement; he forgot the busy times of his political existence, in the calm and congenial pleasures of science; his mind, clear and penetrating, wandered with fresh activity and delight through all the regions of thought; his heart dwelt with the deepest interest on every thing that tended to the

improvement and happiness of mankind; at once practical, benevolent and wise, he was forever studying the welfare of his fellow-creatures, and endeavoring to advance every plan which tended to produce or increase it. Among these labors, the most prominent perhaps was his effort for the improvement of education in Virginia, and the establishment of a noble university, which was commenced by his own private donations and those he could obtain from his friends. This became the object of his greatest zeal, during the remainder of his life. He presented to the legislature a report embracing the principles on which it was proposed the institution should be formed. The situation selected for the university was at Charlottesville, a town at the foot of the mountain, where he resided. The plan was such as to combine elegance and utility, with the power of enlarging it to any extent, which its future prosperity might require. The instruction was to embrace the various branches of learning which a citizen may require, in his intercourse between man and man, in the improvement of his morals and faculties, and in the knowledge and exercise of his social rights. The various arrangements for the conduct of the institution were framed with a view to a liberal system of discipline, and a strict accountability on the part of all connected with the institution. The legislature approved of Mr. JEFFERSON'S plans; he was himself elected the rector; and from that period he devoted himself to carry into effect what he had thus designed. All his hopes and thoughts were turned towards its success. He rode every morning when the weather would permit, to inspect its progress; he prepared with his own hands the drawings for the workmen; he stood over them as they proceeded, with a sort of parental anxiety and care; and when the inclemency of the season or the infirmity of age prevented his visits, a telescope was placed on a terrace near his house, by means of which he could inspect the progress of the work. After its completion, he might often be seen pacing slowly along the porticoes or cloisters which extended in front of the dormitories of the students, occasionally conversing with them, and viewing the establishment with a natural and honorable pride. In the library, a catalogue written by himself is carefully preserved. He has collected the names, best editions, and value of all works of whatever language, in literature and science, which he thought necessary to form a complete library; and, in examining it, one is really less struck with the research and various knowledge required for its compilation, than the additional proof of that anxious care, which seemed to leave unsought no means of fostering and improving the institution he had formed.

Thus glided on the evening of Mr. JEFFERSON'S patriotic and benevolent life; as age wore gradually away the energies of his body, his mind shone with intelligence undiminished; and his efforts and desires for the progress of human happiness and knowledge, knew no change. Years, however, had crowded upon him; and when the increase of infirmities at length prevented him leaving his chamber, he remarked to the physician, who sought to assist him by the aid of his art, that "the machine had worn out, and could go on no longer." During the spring of 1826, he had suffered from increasing debility, but it was not until the 26th of June, that he was obliged to confine himself to his bed. The strength of his constitution and freedom from bodily pain for a short time encouraged the hope, that this confinement would be only temporary; but his own conversation showed that he did not himself so regard it. "Do not imagine," he said to those around him, "that I feel the smallest solicitude as to the result. I do not indeed wish to die, but I do not fear to die." His temper retained all its usual cheerfulness and equanimity; his only anxiety seemed to be for the prosperity of the university, and he expressed strongly his hopes that the state would not abandon it; he declared that if he could see that child of his old age fairly flourishing, he was ready to depart—to say "nunc dimittis domine," a favorite quotation with him. On the 2d of July, he appeared free from disease, but his weakness was such, that his physicians expressed a doubt whether his strength would prove sufficient to restore him. Conscious himself that he could not recover, and without any bodily or apparently mental pain, he calmly gave directions relative to his interment, which he requested might be at Monticello without parade or pomp; he then called his family around him, and conversed separately with each of them; to his beloved daughter, Mrs. Randolph, he presented a small morocco case, which he requested her not to open till after his death; when the sad limitation had expired, it was found to contain an affectionate poetical tribute to the virtues of her from whom he was thus torn away; he desired, if any inscription were placed on his tomb, he should be described only as "the author of the declaration of independence, of the statutes of Virginia for religious freedom, and the father of the university." On Monday, the following day, he inquired of those around him with much solicitude, what was the day of the month; they told him it was the 3d of July; he then eagerly expressed his desire that he might be permitted to live to another day, to breathe the air of the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of independence. His wish was granted: the morning of the 4th of July,

1826, found him still living; and after declaring himself gratified by the affectionate solicitude of his family and servants, and having distinctly articulated these words, "I resign myself to my God, and my child to my country," he gradually expired without a murmur or a groan.

At the time of his death, Mr. JEFFERSON had reached the age of eighty-three years, two months, and twenty-one days. In person he was six feet two inches high, erect and well formed, though thin; his eyes were light and full of intelligence; his hair was very abundant, and originally of a yellowish red, though in his latter years silvered with age; his complexion was fair, his forehead broad, and the whole face square and expressive of deep thinking; his countenance was remarkably intelligent and open as day, its general expression full of good-will and kindness, and, when the occasion excited it, beaming with enthusiasm; his address was cordial, confirming the welcome of his lips; his motions were flexible and easy, his step firm and sprightly; and such were his strength and agility, that he was accustomed, in the society of children, of which he was fond, to practise feats that few could imitate. His manner was simple, mingled with native dignity, but cheerful, unassuming, frank, and kind; his language was remarkable for vivacity and correctness; and in his conversation, which was without apparent effort, he poured forth knowledge the most various from an exhaustless fountain, yet so modestly, and so engagingly, that he seemed rather to seek than to impart information.

In his disposition he was full of liberality and benevolence; of this the neighborhood of Monticello affords innumerable monuments, and, on his own estate, such was the condition of his slaves, that in their comforts his own interests were too often entirely forgotten. Among his neighbors he was esteemed and beloved in an uncommon degree, and his sentiments and opinions were regarded by them with extreme respect, the reward rather of his private worth than of his public services. His kindness had no limits; he omitted nothing in his power to alleviate distress. On one occasion, when president, passing on horseback a stream in Virginia, he was accosted by a feeble beggar, who implored his aid to help him across; without hesitation he carried him over behind him, and, on the beggar telling him he had neglected his wallet, he as good-humoredly recrossed the stream, and brought it to him. When the British and German prisoners, taken at Saratoga, were quartered in his neighborhood, he treated them with marked kinndess; he enlisted the benevolent dispositions of the neighborhood

to supply their wants, obtain provisions, and secure their habitations against the inclemency of the season; and to the officers he threw open his library, and offered all the hospitalities of Monticello. On leaving Virginia, they wrote him letters conveying the warmest gratitude; and when he subsequently visited Germany, many of these grateful men flocked around him, loading him with respect and affection.

In his temper he displayed the greatest equanimity: his oldest friends have remarked that they never beheld him give way to passion; and he treated his family and domestics with unvarying gentleness. Even during the exciting political contests in which he was so prominent an actor, he never displayed personal enmity, or used his influence or power with an angry or vindictive spirit. When the celebrated traveiler, Humboldt, was once visiting him, he saw a newspaper lying on his table, containing a slanderous and acrimonious attack; pointing it out to Mr. JEFFERSON, he said "why do you not hang the man?" "Put the paper in your pocket," replied the president with a smile, "and on your return to your own country, if any one doubts the freedom of our press, show it to him, and tell him where you found it." Even at the period when his elevation to the chief magistracy was contested with so much violence, he says, in a letter to Governor Henry, of Maryland, a political opponent, "I feel extraordinary gratification in addressing this letter to you, with whom shades of difference in political sentiment have not prevented the interchange of good opinion, nor cut off the friendly offices of society. This political tolerance is the more valued by me, who consider social harmony as the first of human felicities, and the happiest moments those which are given to the effusions of the heart." His attachment, indeed, to his friends was warm and unvarying; he imparted to them, with unstudied and fearless confidence, all that he thought and felt; he entertained no ungenerous caution or distrust, and he had his reward in that firm support, which he received and had a right to expect from them, in every exigency.

The domestic habits of Mr. JEFFERSON were quite simple. His application was constant and excessive. He always rose very early; to a remark once made to him of surprise at his being able, amidst the numerous interruptions to which his public station exposed him, to transact his business, he replied, "I have made it a rule never to let the sun rise before me, and before I have breakfasted, to transact all the business called for by the day." His habits were so exact, that in a cabinet abounding with papers, each one was so labelled and

arranged as to be immediately found. After his retirement from public life, he maintained a correspondence wonderfully extensive. He usually rode every day for an hour or two, and continued to do so until a very short period before his death; and though he retired early, his afternoons were, to the last, devoted to study, as his evenings were to his family circle.

We cannot better close our memoir of JEFFERSON than in the closing language of Mr. Webster's eloquent eulogium of the illustrious statesman in connection with John Adams:—"Fellow citizens, I will detain you no longer by this joint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands adequate justice could not be performed, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praise is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame indeed is safe. That is now treasured up, beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may indeed moulder into dust; time may erase all impressions from the crumbling stone; but their fame remains; for with AMERICAN LIBERTY it rose, and with AMERICAN LIBERTY ONLY can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, 'THEIR BODIES ARE BURIED IN PEACE, BUT THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE.' I catch that solemn song; I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, 'THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE.'"

# JOHN HANCOCK.

THIS illustrious patriot, than whom perhaps not one of all his contemporaries enjoyed in his time, a higher place in the consideration of the American community, was born within the precincts of the pleasant town of Quincy, a place which has had the honor of furnishing, not only two of the illustrious presidents of the Union, but no small number also of other remarkable men, well and favorably distinguished in the history of their native land. Quincy was, at the time of HANCOCK'S birth, in the year 1737, a part of the large and ancient town of Braintree, (which comprised likewise the modern territory of the same name, together with a part of the township of Randolph, in addition to Quincy;) and hence the apparent inconsistency in the statements of different writers who have noticed the life of the subject of this memoir.

The grandfather and the father of HANCOCK were both clergymen, and men of very considerable reputation. The former resided for half a century at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex; a spot which subsequently became hallowed ground, in conjunction with Concord, the adjoining town, by having witnessed the first battle of the American Revolution, and where Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," tells us, yet stands the old Buckman Tavern, which exhibits many scars made by the bullets discharged at our militia men, from the guns of the advancing enemy, on the morning of the skirmish.

The father of HANCOCK, of the same name with himself, has received no little eulogy for the services which he rendered to the cause of learning, as well as religion, in his native province. One of the brothers of this gentleman, however, is still better known by merits of a similar description, as well as by the recommendation of having elevated himself from an humble and obscure condition of life, by his industry, intelligence, and energy, to the rank of the most

eminent merchant in the northern states. He was for several years honored with high situations in the political departments of the province; and what is more to his lasting praise, he appropriated a liberal portion of his well earned revenue to the establishment of a professorship in Harvard University, and to the increase of the library of that institution, where his name, in golden letters, may be seen to this day over one of the alcoves.

At this seminary—now become so celebrated for the great names it has introduced to the history of the country, and still more the subject of public regard, in the period of HANCOCK'S youth, as not only the oldest, but far the most learned and most amply endowed literary institution in the land—the subject of our memoir received, under the charge of the paternal uncle just mentioned, his collegiate education. His father had deceased during his infancy, and he was thus, perhaps not very unfortunately, cast upon the kindness of a relative who seems to have been as cheerfully disposed, and as well qualified, as he was abundantly able by his means at command, to bestow on his young *protégé*, all the expense and exertion which were deemed subservient to his comfort and promotion.

He was graduated at Harvard, in the year 1754, at the early age of seventeen. With what honors he came off at his commencement, or what reputation as a scholar he acquired, during his course of study in the institution, we are not now enabled to ascertain; but the intelligence, as well as the ambition and the application, which he afterwards manifested on frequent occasions of as much interest to his countrymen as to himself, give us reason to believe that his character must have received at this early period, no inconsiderable weight from the development of the same virtues and powers that finally raised him to the highest place in the confidence of the American people.

That the indistinct and incomplete account which has reached us of this portion of his career, supplies no glowing description of any precocious and prodigious display of genius on the part of the youthful aspirant, is a mischance which other great men have participated with himself; and on the other hand, the assertion advanced by occasional writers, that his college career was passed chiefly in indolent insignificance, or at best in mediocre regularity, is believed to be without the slightest foundation in truth, as it is in proof. He who searches, at this day, among the documents of HANCOCK'S own time, and especially of the period of his political advancement, for

the opinions which his contemporaries entertained, or professed to entertain, in regard to his true character, must cautiously discriminate between the statements of indifferent testimony, and the aspersions of rancorous political rivals and foes. The remark applies to the case before us, with perhaps scarcely less force than to those of even Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton themselves. No statesman in this country, of however exalted renown, has been so fortunate as to receive the reward of his patriotism at the hands of the public, without a mixture of bitter accusation and violent attack, blended therewith, from time to time, quite sufficient to satisfy the most inordinate appetite for the excitement of popular contest. In this connexion it is well observed, too, by Sanderson, that the imputation of dulness, and even of stupidity has been attached, during the rudiments of their education, to some of the brightest ornaments of literature; and many have excited the admiration of the world by a youthful pregnancy of genius, whose names have perished before the hour of parturition.

For six years subsequent to the conclusion of his academical course, HANCOCK was engaged most of his time as a clerk in the counting-house of his uncle, who was then at the height of his commercial prosperity. In 1760 he visited the mother country, and during that period was present at the funeral of George II., and the coronation of his successor—a monarch with the principles and policy of whose administration he then little anticipated the serious conflict which subsequently occurred.

After his return to his own country, at the age of twenty-seven, the decease of his uncle put him, by the will of that generous patron, in possession of a munificent fortune, reputed to have been the most ample property held by any individual in the province, and probably little inferior to any other American estate.

This accidental and fortunate advantage, though it has never been pretended that the proprietor used it with other than a spirit of the most noble liberality, proved, under circumstances which have been already alluded to, another fruitful occasion of ungenerous remarks upon his conduct and motives. It certainly enabled him to live in a style which differed materially from that adopted by his great rival, Samuel Adams. The latter was in moderate circumstances, and was obliged to conform in his manners and habits to the somewhat severe republicanism of the times. But HANCOCK had been educated in the home of elegant hospitality, and his revenue was abun-

dantly adequate to the gratification of the most liberal taste. He kept a splendid equipage, riding, upon public occasions at least, with servants in livery, and six beautiful bays, while his apparel was sumptuously embroidered with gold or silver lace, and all the other fashionable decorations of the day. He was fond, also, in later life, of dancing, music, concerts, routs, assemblies, card parties, rich wines, social dinners, and festivities of every description, which he supposed unobjectionable, and which were popular with a very considerable class of the population of Boston.

We come now to the consideration of the political career of Mr. HANCOCK, and it cannot fail to be the most obvious inference from such a review, that whatever might be the bitterness of individual opponents at different periods, and although his popularity with even the mass of his fellow citizens was occasionally, in times of high excitement, subject to eclipse, yet, on the whole, few men who have lived in this country, at any stage in its history, have enjoyed a more substantial share of political promotion or popular favor.

He was elected one of the selectmen of Boston soon after his return from England, and continued to hold that office for several years. In 1766, he was chosen, with James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Cushing, a representative to the general assembly of the province. There was at this time, as the city papers of the date above named sufficiently indicate, a good deal of excitement stirred up in the public mind relating to the measures of the British government; and this circumstance, not less than the company with whom he was associated in his office, plainly prove the high degree of confidence already reposed in both his integrity and his talents. He is said to have been somewhat indebted, for his early advancement, to the kindly offices of Samuel Adams, a gentleman with whom he subsequently found occasion to differ in political sentiment on several occasions, but it is believed not to the disparagement of the mutual respect of the parties.

In the assembly, Mr. HANCOCK, though but thirty years of age, was immediately placed in the foremost rank of the leading and working men, being not only nominated to most of the important committees of that respectable body, but upon more than one occasion of great and general interest, appointed to the chairmanship over associates of high reputation.

In the impositions attempted by the British government, in regard to the importation of foreign merchandise into this country, Mr.

HANCOCK took an early and strong interest; and probably no individual was more active than himself in instituting those memorable associations of the citizens for the purpose of preventing the introduction and circulation of English goods, which so materially contributed not only to ward off some of the encroachments of tyranny, but to awaken the attention of the American people to a discussion and decision on the whole subject of monarchical and ministerial abuse. His name was brought more particularly before the public, in the course of this controversy, by the seizure of one of his vessels, by the custom-house officers, under the pretext of its being taken in contravention of the revenue laws. It was removed by the officers under the protection of the guns of a British vessel then in the harbor. The citizens, however, were exasperated by this proceeding, and they assembled in great numbers, pursued them, beat them with clubs, and drove them aboard their vessels. The collector's boat was then burned by the mob, in the midst of loud rejoicings, and the houses of some of the most odious of the supporters of "divine right," razed, in the first transport of popular fury, to the ground. This affair, trifling as it may seem, has been considered as among the principal of those immediate original causes or occasions, which hastened the great dispute between the mother country and the provinces to a crisis.

Another incident of still greater interest, tending to the same effect, was the celebrated massacre of the Boston citizens, by the British troops, on the 5th of March, 1770. Probably the excitement produced by that bloody affair was and is altogether unprecedented in the history of the city. The bells were tolled, and the streets filled with the population of all the neighboring towns; and it was only by the judicious withdrawal of the offenders at a seasonable juncture, and the energetic interposition of some of the popular leaders, that matters failed of being precipitated to the utmost verge of frenzy. Mr. HANCOCK, with several others, was the next day appointed, by an assembly of the citizens, to wait on the royal governor and procure of him the removal of the troops from the town. The proposition was evaded at first, but subsequently urged in such a manner as to effect the prompt execution of the object desired by the people. Mr. HANCOCK was called on, in 1774, to deliver an oration on the anniversary of the massacre, over the remains of the murdered victims of tyranny. This composition, which increased even the author's established reputation, is still preserved, and is justly

considered, though not remarkable for any thing like a learned or classic taste, a fine specimen of indignant patriotism, expressed in the fiery phraseology of a fearless freeman. It was about this time that he declined accepting the appointment of counsellor by the governor, and this indignity, as the latter considered it, was followed by his removal from the captaincy of the cadets, or governor's guard, by General Gage. The company disbanded themselves on that occasion, and the whole affair added to his popularity with every class of the people. Several years before he had manifested a similar spirit, on being offered a military commission by Governor Bernard. At that time he tore up the paper in presence of his fellow citizens.

In October, 1774, Mr. HANCOCK, now but thirty-seven years of age, was elected president of the Massachusetts provincial convention, by an unanimous vote. The next year, the first of the revolution, found him at the acmé of his political distinction, in the honorable station of president of the continental congress. Sanderson correctly remarks, in reference to this appointment, that "by his long experience in business as *moderator* of the town meetings, and presiding officer and speaker of the provincial assemblies, during times of great turbulence and commotion, he was eminently qualified, as well as by his natural dignity of manners, to preside in this great council of the nation." The officer elect is reported to have received the announcement of his election with evident symptoms of embarrassment—a sensation creditable at least to his modesty—but being conducted to the chair by the friendly arm of a southern member, he soon recovered his usual composure.

He held the presidency until October of the year 1777, a period of about two and a half years, during which the incessant application he gave to business had rendered his health somewhat precarious. This consideration induced him to resign his office, and he retired to his native province, attended by most gratifying testimonials of the universal respect of his countrymen.

But his fellow citizens did not suffer him to remain long in the quietude of private life. A convention was about this time appointed to frame a constitution for the state of Massachusetts; to this he was elected; and he took, as usual, an active part in the deliberations of that important occasion. In 1780 he was chosen governor, being the first under the new constitution. He continued to hold the office, annually, by the suffrages of the people, till 1785, when he resigned; owing, as was stated, to the condition of his health,

though his enemies failed not to assert that his purpose was rather to escape the troubles of that stormy period, which finally resulted in the famous insurrection of Shays. However this might be, the people appear to have been satisfied with his reasons and his administration, for in 1787 he was again called from his retirement to the gubernatorial dignity, and he continued to fill that station successively and very acceptably till his death, which occurred in October, 1793, in his fifty-sixth year. Mr. Sanderson gives him the credit of directing the suppression of Shays' rebellion, during the latter term of his office; but this praise belongs justly to Mr. Bowdoin, who was governor during the two years of HANCOCK's retirement, and when the troubles in question were at their height.

The great reputation acquired by the subject of our memoir among his own countrymen at the period when the revolution broke out, cannot be better proved than by the importance attached to his patriotism by the enemy, who perhaps had a particular ill will against him from the connexion of his signature, (alone, in the first instance,) as president of the continental congress, to the memorable declaration of independence, issued by that body on the 4th of July, 1776. A year previous to this, however, he had the honor of being pointed out, in conjunction with that other "notorious offender," Samuel Adams, as an exception to the pardon offered by the royal governor of Massachusetts, in the proclamation, declaring the province in a state of rebellion, which he issued after the battle of Bunker Hill. It was even intimated, that the chief purpose of the expedition, sent on the 19th of April to Lexington, was to obtain possession of the persons of these two obnoxious compatriots—*par nobile fratrum.*

To the adoption of the federal constitution by the state of Massachusetts—a most important event, which occurred in 1788, no individual probably contributed so much as HANCOCK; and it was generally believed, at the time when he submitted that instrument to the consideration of the legislature, that if this state refused to ratify it, the passage of it would infallibly be lost in the other twelve. A convention assembled in Boston, to consider the question of acceptance, and of that large and highly respectable body, comprising all the distinguished talent of the state—not excepting Fisher Ames, Rufus King, Judges Cushing, Parsons, Dana, and Sedgwick, General Lincoln, Gore, Brooks, Strong, and many others, HANCOCK was chosen president. Sickness compelled

him to leave his seat during part of the debates, but he returned to it in the last week of the session, and it is said that his great influence, exerted with his utmost discretion and energy at this juncture, especially in pressing sundry amendments, which obviated the exceptionable features of the proposed code, finally turned the scale in favor of the adoption, It succeeded, after all, by a majority of only nineteen votes, out of three hundred and fifty-five. This event was celebrated in Boston with great rejoicings, and was hailed with satisfaction throughout the country.

The funeral obsequies of Governor HANCOCK were observed in a manner which plainly indicated the strong hold he continued, till the last, to have on the popular good will. His body lay in state at his mansion for several days, and the interment of it was conducted with great ceremony. The militia of both the town and the surrounding country were called out, and the judges of the supreme court joined the immense procession, which followed the remains to their last resting place, in robes of mourning hue. The disease from which the governor had suffered most in his latter years, was the gout, but his decease was probably occasioned not more by this cause, than by the fatigue of the laborious and responsible public duties to which his whole time and thought seemed to be directed.

Governor HANCOCK left no lineal descendant. He had married, about twenty years before his death, Miss Quincy, of Boston, (who belonged to one of the most distinguished families of New England,) and by this connexion, had one son, but this child died at an early age

The public character of the great man whose life we have thus imperfectly set forth, appears from the facts therein comprised much more clearly than any dissertation of ours could exhibit it. His private reputation, on the other hand, was not only free from serious reproach, even in the most excited times, but at all periods of his career, maintained in a rank worthy even of his political popularity. The diffusive liberality, with which he dispensed around him the benefits of his splendid wealth, was especially the subject of admiration. Nor did he ever hesitate, when patriotism called upon him, to sacrifice any thing he possessed for his country's good;—when, for example, in 1775, it was proposed by the American officers, who carried on the siege of Boston, to bombard and destroy the town that the enemy might be driven out, HANCOCK, whose whole property was thus exposed to destruction, was among the foremost to

require that no regard to his personal interest should obstruct the operations of the army.

The author of "Familiar Letters on Public Characters," generally understood to be a gentleman who was personally acquainted with most of the great men of the period of HANCOCK's official life, describes the appearance of the governor in 1782, when, it is said, though but forty-five years old, he wore very much the aspect of advanced age. He is said to have been nearly six feet in stature, of thin person, stooping a little, and apparently enfeebled by disease. "His manners were very gracious, of the old style, of dignified complaisance. His face had been very handsome. His dress was adapted quite as much to be ornamental as useful.* Gentlemen wore wigs when abroad, and commonly caps when at home. At this time, (June,) about noon, HANCOCK was dressed in a red velvet cap, within which was one of fine linen, the latter was turned up over the lower edge of the velvet one, two or three inches. He wore a blue damask gown, lined with silk; a white stock, a white satin embroidered waistcoat, black satin small clothes, white silk stockings, and red morocco slippers. It was a general practice in genteel families to have a tankard of punch made in the morning, and placed in a cooler when the season required it. Visiters were invited to partake of it. At this visit HANCOCK took from the cooler, standing on the hearth, a full tankard, and drank first himself, and then offered it to those present. At his table might be seen all classes, from grave and dignified clergy, down to the gifted in song, narration, anecdote, and wit, with whom 'noiseless falls the foot of time, that only treads on flowers.'"

To acknowledge that the governor had his faults and his foibles, is but to allow that he was human. Among the latter, perhaps, was too scrupulous a stickling for etiquette on some occasions, and on others, a somewhat haughty preference of his own mere will and wisdom to those of parties who were, by their situation at least, entitled to respect, if not to concession. The author of the "Letters"

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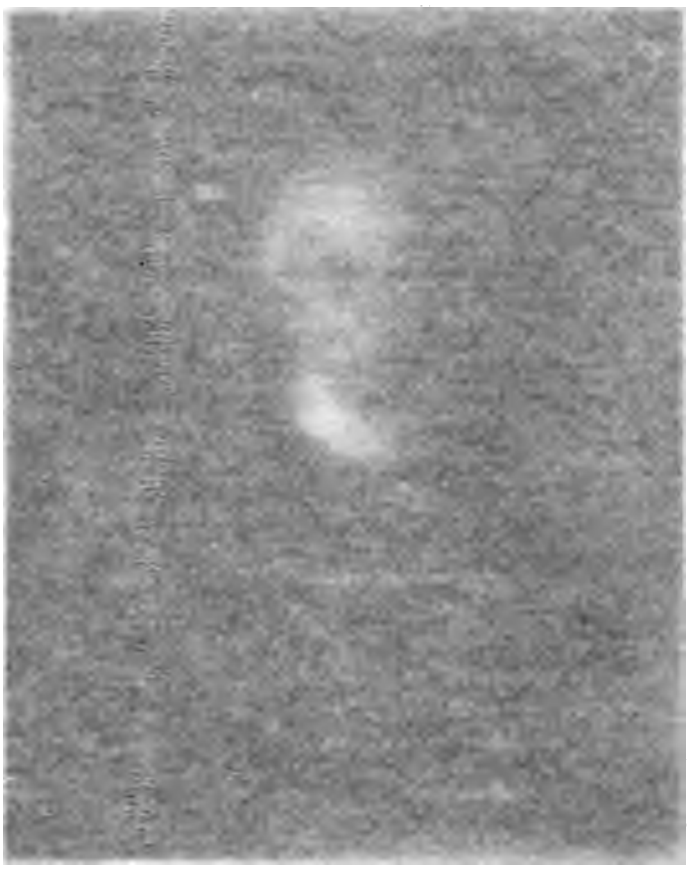
* The writer recollects to have heard it stated by an orator in Fanueil Hall, on an occasion when the sentiments and character of HANCOCK came under discussion, that he was at one time in the habit of wearing gold buttons with the figure of a *sheep* engraved on them, under the motto, "you gain more by our lives than our deaths." It was no doubt a political allusion.

mentions that when President Washington visited the Eastern states, in 1789, HANCOCK took the ground, that as the representative of state sovereignty in his own dominion, he was to be visited *first*, even by the chief magistrate of the Union. This the president was given to understand, but he did not deem it proper. Written communications ensued. Washington finally refused to see HANCOCK except at the residence of the former, (corner of Court and Tremont streets.) The Governor at length yielded, and on the third or fourth day, went in his coach, enveloped in red baize, to the president's lodgings, where he was borne in the arms of servants into the house. The delay was by the public imputed to his debility.

Never, we will say in conclusion, never did any man manifest more patriotic courage than JOHN HANCOCK; nor are there preserved of any one a more precious memory, or more pleasant reminiscences. When General Gage issued a proclamation, pronouncing those in arms and their abettors, "rebels" and "parricides of the Constitution," he offered a free pardon to all who would forthwith return to their allegiance, *except* JOHN HANCOCK and Samuel Adams, who were outlawed, and for whose apprehension as traitors a reward was offered. This proclamation, so arrogant and insulting, exasperated the people, and only extorted a smile from HANCOCK, now chairman of the People's Committee of Safety. He had his revenge; for when he placed his bold signature to the Declaration of Independence in the following year, he remarked, "There! John Bull can read that name without spectacles. Now let him double his reward!"

Hancock House, on Beacon Hill, Boston, is now occupied by John Hancock, Esq., nephew of the patriot, and who breathes no small portion of his spirit. He possesses many mementoes of his eminent kinsman, and among them a beautifully executed miniature of him painted in London, in 1761, while he was there at the Coronation of George III.; he also owns an original portrait of HANCOCK, which Lossing has copied in his "Field Book of the Revolution." HANCOCK's name too is given to one of the cannons placed in the top of the monument on Breed's Hill, by order of the Congress in 1788.



# CHARLES CARROLL

## OF CARROLLTON.

It has been asserted that the American colonies, now the United States, began seriously to entertain the design of throwing off their allegiance to the British king, soon after the conquest of Canada by the arms of the British and provincial forces. There is, however, no evidence to sustain that assertion; and the probability is, that the colonies, although they each had cause for discontent, had never been united in their complaints until the British parliament united them by a series of general grievances. The charters granted to the various colonies had been uniformly violated so soon as they began to thrive; and they, in their weakness and sincere attachment to "the mother country," had patiently submitted. Yet it is evident that they retained, from generation to generation, a lively sense of their natural and chartered rights. The descendants of those who had braved the dangers and hardships of the wilderness for the sake of civil and religious liberty, inherited the spirit of their fathers;—what the fathers had gained by patient toil, unbending fortitude, or by charter from the king, their children claimed as *their birthright.*

In 1764, parliament, for the first time, attempted to raise a revenue in the colonies without their consent. This led to a discussion of the right in the provincial assemblies and among the people, and the general sentiment appears to have been, that "taxation and representation were inseparable." In 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed; and the policy of the British government being unveiled, an universal expression of indignation and opposition was echoed through the colonies. In addition to these general causes for complaint, each colony remembered its own individual grievances. It is only our purpose, on this occasion, to trace the causes of discontent in Maryland; and to show, that when her sons embarked

their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," in their country's cause, they had reason and justice on their side.

The charter of Maryland was obtained by Lord Baltimore, from Charles I., in June, 1632. By the charter it was declared, that the grantee was actuated by a laudable zeal for extending the Christian religion and the territories of the empire. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic; and his avowed intention was, to erect an asylum in America for the Catholic faith. In honor of the queen the province was named, and its endowment was accompanied with immunities more ample than any other of the colonies. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary, saving the allegiance due to the crown — license was given to all British subjects to transport themselves thither, and they and their posterity were declared entitled to the liberties of Englishmen, as if they had been born within the kingdom; with powers to make laws for the province, "not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England," — power was given to the proprietary, with assent of the people, to impose all just and proper subsidies, which were granted to him for ever; and it was covenanted on the part of the king, that neither he nor his successors should at any time impose, or cause to be imposed, any tollages on the colonists, or their goods and tenements, or on their commodities, to be laden within the province. The proprietary was also authorized to appoint officers, repel invasions, and suppress rebellions. The charter contained no special reservation of royal prerogative to interfere in the government of the province. Thus was laid the foundation of a popular government not likely to be willingly renounced when once possessed.

No efforts were spared by Lord Baltimore to facilitate the population and happiness of the colony; and in five years it had increased to such an extent that a code of laws became necessary. Lord Baltimore composed and submitted a body of laws to the colonists for their assent, but they not approving of them, prepared a code for themselves. At a very early period the proprietary had declared in favor of religious toleration; in 1649 the assembly adopted that principle by declaring, "that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect to their religion, or in the free exercise thereof;" thus placing themselves among the first of the American States in which differences as to religious opinions were tolerated by law. In 1654 Cromwell sent commissioners to reduce the colony to his subjection, who, although they met with no opposition in Maryland, abolished its institutions

and introduced religious discord. They inflamed the Protestants against the Catholics, until, exasperated to extremity, the parties met in an engagement, when the partizans of the proprietary government were defeated, the governor deposed, and a new assembly formed, by which a law was passed depriving the Catholics of the protection of law in the community. With the restoration of Charles II., in 1661, tranquillity was restored to the province; but in a few years that tranquillity was again disturbed by a series of petty vexations, originating in the strife and jealousy of the ruling party in Britain, on account of religion. The king's ministers commanded that all the offices of the provincial government should in future be committed exclusively to Protestants, and not only in this was the charter violated, but also by the appointment of revenue officers and the exacting of imposts. In 1686 James II. determined to overthrow the proprietary governments of the colonies, but the more important affairs in which he was engaged at home, during his short reign, prevented the consummation of his threat.* On the accession of William III. a Protestant association was formed, which, under the authority and approbation of the king, usurped the direction of the affairs of the province, keeping up the farce of a Papist plot as an excuse for their conduct. Lord Baltimore was deprived, by an act of the privy council, of the political administration, although they could find no fault in him, except that he was of the Catholic faith. With the proprietary's government the liberal principles of his administration were subverted. The Church of England was established, and a tax levied to support it.

Sanctioned by the authority and instructed by the example of the British government, the newly modelled legislature of Maryland proceeded to enact a series of laws which completely disfranchised the Catholics, by depriving them of all political and religious privileges, and of the ordinary means of education. By an act, passed in 1704 and renewed in 1715, it was ordained that the celebration of Mass, or the education of youth by a Papist, should be punished by transportation to England. These acts were afterwards modified; but the evils inflicted on the colony by the violations of the charter, were not removed until the connection with Great Britain was dissolved by the Revolution. In 1702, in the midst of this state of affairs, Charles Carroll, the father of CHARLES CARROLL OF

* About this time Charles Carroll (the son of Daniel Carroll, of Kings county, Ireland, and grandfather of CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON,) came into the colony.

CARROLLTON, was born. We may readily suppose with what attachment to the royal cause he arrived at manhood. We are informed that "he took an active part in the affairs of the provincial government; and in the religious disputes of the times stood prominent as one of the leading and most influential members of the Catholic party." On the eighth of September, 1737, O. S., his son, CHARLES CARROLL, surnamed OF CARROLLTON, was born at Annapolis; and at eight years old was taken to France to be educated. He remained there until 1757, when he visited London and commenced the study of law. In 1764, he returned to Maryland a finished scholar and an accomplished gentleman. About this period the respective rights of the colonies and of the king's government began to be discussed; religious disputes subsided and were forgotten, in the new and interesting topics of the time. The celebrated Stamp Act, in 1765, produced an universal excitement, and elicited, from men of the highest character and talents in the country, the most energetic and decisive expressions of opinion. Among those who came boldly forward in vindication of the colonists was CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

The Stamp Act was repealed and the excitement ceased; but in the colonies the principle of parliamentary taxation was a settled question.

In June, 1768, Mr. CARROLL married.

In 1771–2, Mr. CARROLL's talents as an advocate of popular rights, were again brought into requisition. The house of delegates, after an investigation, framed and passed a law regulating the fees of the civil officers of the colonial government, but the upper house refused to concur in it. After the adjournment of the assembly, the governor issued a proclamation commanding and enjoining all officers not to take other or greater fees than those therein mentioned. The people viewed this measure as an attempt to fix a tax upon them by proclamation, and in that light considered it as an unjust and arbitrary exercise of official authority. A newspaper contest ensued between numerous advocates of the people and of the governor. At length the parties stood in silence watching the progress of a single combat between the champion of the people, Mr. CARROLL, and his antagonist, the provincial secretary. In this controversy, Mr. CARROLL's talents and principles were brought fully before the public, and received the applause of the prominent men of the day. His antagonist was silenced, and the governor's proclamation suspended on a gallows and burnt by the common hangman. The above controversy was conducted by the parties under fictitious

signatures, and before it was known who had been the writer to whom the laurel was awarded, the citizens of Annapolis instructed their representatives to address a letter of thanks, through the newspaper, to the "distinguished advocate of the rights of his country;" but when it was generally known that "the distinguished advocate," was CHARLES CARROLL, "the people of Annapolis, not satisfied with the letter of the delegates, came in a body to thank him for his exertions in defence of their rights." Mr. CARROLL had evidently made up his mind to abide the issue of the contest, which he foresaw had only been commenced with the pen to be terminated with the bayonet; and he took repeated occasions so to express his convictions to friends and foes. As the great drama of the Revolution advanced, Mr. CARROLL's popularity evidently became more extensive, and his advice and influence more frequently sought. After the delegates in 1774 had prohibited the importation of tea, a brig arrived at Annapolis with a quantity on board; it was court time, and a great number of people were assembled from the neighboring counties, and so irritated were they, that personal violence was threatened to the captain and consignees of the vessel and destruction to the cargo. Application was made to Mr. CARROLL for advice and protection, by the owner of the vessel. He advised him to burn the vessel and the tea it contained to the water's edge, as the most effectual means of allaying the popular excitement. His counsel was followed, the sails were set, the colors displayed, and the brig burnt amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

In February, 1776, Mr. CARROLL, then a member of the Maryland convention, was appointed by the continental congress on a commission to visit Canada, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and the Rev. John Carroll, the object of which was to induce the Canadians to unite their efforts with the United Provinces in the struggle for liberty; but the defeat of Montgomery's army, the contributions levied on the inhabitants, and the invincible opposition of the priests, rendered their mission abortive. Mr. CARROLL returned to Philadelphia just as the subject of independence was under discussion; he was decidedly in favor of it, but was not a member of congress; and the delegates from Maryland had been instructed to refuse their assent to it. He proceeded to Annapolis with all speed, and in his place in the convention advocated the cause of independence with such effect, that on the 28th of June new instructions were given in the place of the old ones, and on the 4th

of July, 1776, the votes of the Maryland delegation were given for independence.

On the same day, Mr. CARROLL was appointed a delegate to congress, and took his seat as a member, for the first time, on the 18th. On the next day a secret resolution was adopted, directing the Declaration to be engrossed on parchment, and signed by all the members, which was accordingly done on the 2d of August. As Mr. CARROLL had not given a vote on the adoption of that instrument, he was asked by the President if he would sign it; "most willingly," he replied, and immediately affixed his name to that "record of glory," which has endeared him to his country, and rendered his name immortal. By those who have the curiosity to compare that signature with the autograph accompanying our portrait, it will be perceived that the first was traced by a firm and manly hand, the latter after a lapse of more than half a century, and at an age when "the keepers of the house tremble." Both fac similes are correct.

Mr. CARROLL assisted in the formation of the constitution of Maryland in 1776, and continued in congress until 1778.

He served in the senate of the state for several years, was a member of the United States senate, from 1788 to 1791, from which time until 1801 he was an active member of the senate of his native state.

For the next thirty years he dwelt in the retirement of private life, in the enjoyment of tranquillity, health, fortune, and the richest reward of his patriotic labors; the veneration and gratitude of his country. After the death of Jefferson and Adams, in 1826, he was the sole survivor of the immortal band whose talents and inflexible virtues, in the midst of peril, pledged for their country all that men esteem of value; life, fortune, honor: and the sole inheritor of the rich legacy of glory which they had left. But, on the 14th of November, 1832, the mandate which all must obey, summoned to the tomb the last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; that deed of noble daring which gave his country "a place among nations," and opened an asylum for the oppressed of all. To it the eyes of all nations are turned for instruction and example, and it is evident that the political institutions of the old world are gradually conforming to its model, to which they must very nearly approach, before the people for whose happiness governments are framed, will be content.

# WINFIELD SCOTT.

THE grandfather of WINFIELD SCOTT was a Scotchman, and took part in the rebellion of 1745, fighting against the king; this compelled him to flee from his country and settle in Virginia, where he became a lawyer. William Scott, the father of our hero, was a farmer, and married Ann Mason, a lady of excellent sense and great virtue. William died young, leaving his wife the sole guardian of five children, with a small property, which only a rigid economy could render adequate for their support and education. WINFIELD was born near Petersburg, Virginia, June 13, 1786. It will be seen that he was a hardy child of difficulty and fortitude, and no nursling of ease and indulgence. But he was always disposed to exertion, and therefore obtained a good education, chose the law as a profession, attended a course of law lectures at William and Mary's college, entered a lawyer's office, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty, in 1806.

In the summer of 1807 occurred the wanton attack of the British frigate Leopard on the Chesapeake, and the imprisonment of several of her crew on the allegation that they were British subjects. Young SCOTT ardently shared in the indignation of his countrymen, and joined a volunteer corps in Petersburgh, and marched with them down to Lynnhaven Bay. But this little cloud soon blew over, the volunteers were called home, and SCOTT returned to the practice of his profession; soon, however, to leave it forever, Providence having marked out for him a wide and glorious career. A war was inevitable; Congress passed a bill to raise an army, and in 1808 SCOTT received from President Jefferson a commission as captain of artillery. In 1809 he was ordered to Louisiana, and placed under the command of General Wilkinson, for which officer he had no respect. SCOTT, himself filled with patriotic ardor and honor, believed Wilkinson to be implicated in Burr's conspiracy, and of this conviction he made no secret; the result was that Wilkinson preferred charges against him, which resulted in

his suspension from the service for a year. In this punishment he had the sympathy of his brother officers, who, on the occasion of his sentence, complimented him with a public dinner. The interval of suspension was passed by SCOTT in a thorough systematic study of the science of military tactics, so that he re-appeared in service with superior fitness for the great duties now about to devolve upon him.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared, when it was found that the military preparations of the country had been utterly inadequate to the necessities of the crisis. An expedition was planned to seize on Upper Canada, and the execution entrusted to General Hull; who, however, ingloriously surrendered to General Brock, the British commander, without striking a blow. SCOTT felt, with the whole country, the dishonor of the General, and longed to avenge our disasters on the very spot where they had been suffered, a result which he soon after gloriously accomplished.

Receiving the commission of lieutenant-colonel from President Madison, SCOTT repaired to the Niagara frontier, and took up his position at Black Rock. In October he undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Elliott of the navy, the capture of two British armed brigs, the "Adams" and "Caledonia," then lying moored under the guns of the British Fort Erie, nearly opposite. The attempt was gallant and successful. Here was the commencement of that succession of victories which soon crowned our arms with glory on the lakes and in Canada.

The American troops had now received a new impulse, and began to recover from their dispirited feelings, arising from Hull's inglorious surrender. A body of them lay below Lewiston, under the command of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, and demanded to be led into Canada, though no sufficient preparations had been made for such a step. SCOTT became eager to join the expedition, and by a forced march hastened through mud and rain to the scene of action. The arrangements of the embarkation, however, were such as to preclude him from joining the columns of the invading force. He accordingly took up a position, with his artillery, where he could best cover the landing of our troops, and opened an effective fire on the enemy. The divisions under Colonels Solomon Van Rensselaer and Chrystie behaved nobly; and on the arrival of General Brock, the governor of Upper Canada, who headed a charge against our troops, they mortally wounded Brock, and his secretary, but they themselves had lost Colonel Chrystie, and other noble spirits. At this moment SCOTT arrived on the ground, and the entire command of the corps, now about six hundred, was committed

to him. General Wadsworth acted second in command, and his attachment to his youthful leader often induced him to interpose his own person to shield SCOTT from the bullets of the Indian rifles, which were aimed against his commanding person. The position of SCOTT and his army was now truly perilous; the British garrison at Fort George had poured forth its men, who, with five hundred Indians, advanced upon them, and successive reinforcements continued to arrive until their number was not less than thirteen hundred men, while the Americans had been reduced to less than three hundred. No succor was to be expected, for our troops on the American shore had refused to come to the aid of their comrades. Retreat was hopeless. SCOTT, by no means daunted by the imminent peril of his position, mounted a fallen tree of the forest, and calling around him his now diminished band, uttered these thrilling words: "The enemy's balls have thinned our ranks. His numbers are overwhelming. Directly the shock must come, and there is no retreat. We are in the beginning of a national war. Hull's ignominious surrender must be retrieved. Let us die then, arms in hand! Our country demands the sacrifice. The example will not be lost. The blood of the slain will make heroes of the living. Who is ready for the sacrifice?" An enthusiastic cry answered this eloquent appeal. "We are ALL ready!" was the reply. Though sorely pressed, the Americans maintained their ground, until finding themselves utterly surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, they finally gave way and surrendered to the inevitable necessity of the occasion. Their heroic resistance, however, redeemed the honor of our arms, and proved by defeat itself that victory was close at hand. SCOTT, by this calamity, became better known for gallantry; for he was always in battle in full dress uniform, and his tall stature of full six feet five inches made him a conspicuous mark, especially to the Indians. When he was urged, on one very perilous occasion, on this account to change his dress, he replied, "No, I will die in my robes." At that moment Captain Lawrence fell at his side by a shot from the enemy.

After the surrender, while SCOTT was a prisoner in the village of Niagara, an attack was made on his life by two Indians; but he would have cloven both to the earth by a sword, which he had suddenly laid hold of, had it not been for a British officer, who, alarmed by the noise, interposed and saved their lives. About the same time, when the British officers were selecting from the American prisoners the Irishmen, whom they intended to send home to grace the gallows, our hero denounced their proceedings, and threatened a like retaliation

upon British prisoners if they dared to execute a single man among his comrades. SCOTT commanded his men not to speak, so that no more Irishmen could be recognized; twenty-three, however, were sent home, but in the end returned; as SCOTT was soon exchanged, and gave proof that he had the power as well as the disposition to retaliate on the English. Singularly enough, on the very day of the landing of these twenty-three returned comrades at New York, SCOTT, still suffering from wounds he had in the meantime received, passed along the quay on foot; he was instantly recognized by the now liberated prisoners, and knowing of all he had accomplished in their behalf, they rushed upon him with cheers, expressing a fervor of affectionate gratitude and delight which it is impossible to describe.

Shortly after his release, SCOTT rejoined the army, as adjutant-general, at Fort Niagara, and was allowed, at his own request, to command his own regiment on all occasions of peril and hardship. Not long after he was in great danger; Dearborn, who was anxiously watching the movements of the troops, seeing with his glass his favorite leader fall, burst into tears, exclaiming, "He is lost!—He is killed!" But our hero was neither killed nor vanquished. He recovered himself, and rallying his men again, eagerly rushed forward, sword in hand, upon the enemy. A furious fight ensued, but at the end of twenty minutes the foe gave ground, and fled in dismay before the resistless valor of our young leader. He assaulted the Fort, forced the gates, and was the first to enter.

Here may be the proper place to give an anecdote illustrative alike of the honor and good feeling of our soldier. After his capture, the year before, he was supping with General Sheafe, and a number of British officers, when one of them, a colonel, asked SCOTT if he had ever seen the neighboring Falls; SCOTT replied, "yes, from the American side." To this the other sarcastically replied, "you must have the glory of a *successful* fight before you can view the cataract in all its grandeur." SCOTT rejoined, "If it be your intention to insult me, sir, honor should have first prompted you to return me my sword!" General Sheafe promptly rebuked the British colonel, and the matter was dropped. This same colonel, the following year, was taken prisoner by SCOTT at Fort George, and treated with great kindness and consideration. This treatment extorted the following remark from the prisoner to his captor: "I have long owed you an apology, sir. You have overwhelmed me with kindnesses. You can now view the Falls in all their grandeur, at your leisure."

In July of 1813, Colonel SCOTT was appointed to the command of a

double regiment, and withdrew from his post of adjutant-general. In September an expedition against Burlington Heights was planned, and its execution entrusted to SCOTT; from hence he removed to York, where he found large depôts of clothing, provisions, and other military stores, together with several pieces of cannon and eleven armed boats; all these were captured, and their barracks and public store-houses destroyed. With the close of the campaign, a new and important sphere of duty opened upon Colonel SCOTT. He was now to be called on to awake a new army into being, whose deeds should efface the remembrance of the campaign of that year, and whose prowess should extort the plaudits of admiring millions. After making preparations at Albany and Buffalo for future proceedings, on the 9th of March, 1814, he was appointed brigadier-general by president Madison, at the early age of twenty-seven, and at once entered on his duties. We had heretofore used the Prussian system of tactics; SCOTT now introduced the far more perfect modern French system, the one which we still employ. The new recruits were immediately put under efficient drill; the army was converted into a vast military school; and was kept incessantly employed till it was thoroughly trained; and the raw militia in three months proved itself able to conquer the renowned veterans of Wellington himself.

It is, however, impossible in a work like this, to describe the half of what was done by our illustrious soldier, whose prowess and fame were every day increasing. He led the van when Fort Erie surrendered at discretion; at Chippewa, where he had to contend with opposing troops, the very flower of the British army, and had a much smaller number of men, who had never seen service, he obtained a decided conquest; at Lundy's Lane, one of the most memorable battles we ever fought, and where our victory was one of the dearest we ever won, conquest also awaited our hero. This victory was indeed obtained at a high cost. In addition to our other great losses, SCOTT himself was dangerously wounded. His shoulder was shattered, and a bullet entered his side, so that for a month he lay in a most critical state, and in great suffering. After enduring much pain for a long season, he slowly journeyed towards Philadelphia, to which city he repaired for further surgical aid. Every where, as he passed, he was greeted by all the public honors and private attentions he could bear. Princeton and Philadelphia, and afterwards Baltimore and Washington, were most conspicuous in these expressions of regard.

Peace having been obtained, there were no farther labors for SCOTT in the field; he was, however, raised to the rank of major-general, and

President Madison, when our hero was but twenty-eight, offered him the post of secretary of war; this, however, he declined. The enfeebled state of his health, and the desire of still further professional improvement, suggested the desirableness of a voyage to Europe; and the government gave him a double commission; first, to examine the improvements of military science, and second, to conduct certain secret negotiations in regard to the independence of South America, and the supposed designs of England upon Cuba. He acquitted himself in these matters entirely to the satisfaction of his government. On his return home, he was placed in command of the eastern division of the army, with New York for his head quarters. In 1817 he married Miss Mayo, of Richmond, previously to which Congress had passed a vote of thanks to him for the eminent services he had rendered to his country, and voted him a large gold medal, inscribed with the names of "Chippewa" and "Niagara," and bearing his likeness. The states of New York and Virginia likewise bestowed similar compliments. Each of these states presented him with a sword of the richest workmanship. General Tompkins, of New York, made a public presentation of the sword given by that state, and in his address observed that it was presented to him by the state in token of its admiration of "a military career replete with splendid events." A singular incident is connected with the gold medal presented to General Scott by congress. It was at one time deposited for safe-keeping in the vault of the City Bank of New York. A noted robber broke into the safe, and carried off from thence everything else that was valuable; but spared this token of public honor, in evident respect for the brave soldier's only wealth. The case of the medal was found open, but retaining its precious contents untouched. Nor was this the only instance in which respect has been shown to true nobility of soul. Long after the event we have just narrated, General Scott, in traveling by steamboat from Albany to New York, had his pocket picked of a purse containing eight hundred dollars in gold. On arriving at New York, the General advertised his loss. His money was sent back to him by the head thief of the city, with a respectful assurance that none of his people would have touched the General's purse if they had known his person.

Although General Scott now retired for a while from active service into private life, he was by no means unemployed. He now commenced author, and in 1821 embodied his military system in a volume entitled "*General Regulations for the Army.*" This was followed in 1825, in 1826, and in 1835 by other works of a similar character: in the last instance the work was published by order of Congress. We owe much,

it has been well said, to West Point, but West Point owes much to Scott. He has contributed more than any other man to give the United States army its leading characteristics of high spirit, lofty tone, gentlemanly bearing, extreme efficiency, and love of duty. Withal he has a deep desire to see it always prompted and guided by a spirit of humanity; so that he may well be called the Father of the American army.

In improving the discipline of the army, General Scott met with much difficulty from the prevalence of intemperance, and placed himself among the very earliest pioneers of the temperance reform. As long ago as 1821, he published, first in the National Gazette, of Philadelphia, and afterwards, in the form of a pamphlet, a plan to discourage the use of intoxicating liquors in the United States. This paper was written with great ability, and furnished the matter for thousands of temperance addresses since delivered. Indeed, in all his private and social relations he is one whom the youth of the country would do well to follow as a model. His moral character gives lustre to his historical celebrity. Personally he is without reproach and above suspicion.

Animated by the high spirit of a soldier, General Scott took a lively interest in the struggles of the South American republics to secure their independence. Among the acts which illustrated his interest in their behalf, were his successful endeavors to give a military education to three sons of General Paez, of Colombia. They were, by his exertions, placed at the Military Academy at West Point, in 1823, under the auspices of the President of the United States, where they were educated, and afterwards sent back to fight for the liberties of their native land.

In 1829 our hero again visited Europe on a professional tour of observation; and on his return, after an absence of several months, a war with the Indians on the Upper Mississippi, under the celebrated "Black Hawk," having assumed a formidable aspect, he was ordered by the War Department, in June 1832, to the scene of conflict, to take command of the forces sent to subdue the savages. He embarked at Buffalo, with about one thousand men, on board four steamers bound for the theatre of war. On the passage from Buffalo to Chicago, the Asiatic Cholera, which then for the first time visited this country, broke out on board the steamers conveying the troops, in the most frightful form. On board the General's own boat, out of two hundred and twenty persons, no less than fifty-two died, and eighty others were committed to the hospital within the short term of six days. The great fatality of this disease spread indescribable terror among the troops,

and among the population whither they were carried. Such was the effect produced that in the course of a very few days, sickness, death and desertion, had reduced the number of our troops from nine hundred and fifty to four hundred. Amid this terrible scene, instead of contenting himself with merely ordering the medical men to take all necessary measures for the relief of the sick, he attended them in person, and performed for his humblest comrade every disagreeable and dangerous office with a brother's care. Meantime the Indians were subdued by the Illinois militia and the troops under General Atkinson, and Black Hawk was captured. SCOTT subsequently proceeded to the place of his destination, negotiated important treaties with the Sacs and Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, composed the difficulties on that frontier, and discharged all the duties of his mission in a manner which led Mr. Cass, then Secretary of War, to say to him, "Allow me to congratulate you, sir, upon this fortunate consummation of your arduous duties, and to express my entire approbation of the whole course of your proceedings, during a series of difficulties requiring higher moral courage than the operations of an active campaign under ordinary circumstances."

Were we writing an extended biography of General SCOTT, we should here have much to say on the circumstances and the manner in which he executed his mission to South Carolina. A convention of that state had passed its ordinance declaring that the United States' revenue laws should not be enforced in South Carolina, and its legislature and executive were making preparations for an armed resistance. His work demanded a firm but conciliatory spirit, and great energy in action. That he should have been able, in face of impending hostilities, to associate and even hold friendly relations with the leading nullifiers, seems almost incredible, yet so it was. He withdrew from the scene with the reflection, that his course had been the chief means of saving his country from the horrors of internal strife, and of giving full satisfaction to all parties. In 1835 an Indian war raged in Florida, and the General was ordered there, but the campaign ended without any important results. Some complaints were made because he did not find and capture the hidden Seminoles. But an inquiry, which was instituted at Washington into that campaign, proved him entirely free from blame, and resulted in the unanimous approval of the conduct of the brave commander by the court. He was invited by his friends to public dinners at New York, Richmond, Va., and Elizabethtown, N. J., but declined them all, on account of the then commercial difficulties of the country. Nor less characteristic were his efforts in controlling and subduing the spirit which, on our Canadian frontier,

almost drove us into war with England. Here, as usual, he was successful; as he was also in his labors with the fifteen thousand of the Cherokee Indians who refused to emigrate, according to treaty, west of the Mississippi. His success in that case called forth the eloquent testimony of Dr. Channing: "In the whole history of th intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half-civilized communities, we doubt whether a brighter page can be found than that which records General SCOTT's agency in the removal of the Cherokees. As far as the wrongs done to this race can be atoned for, General SCOTT has made the expiation. It would not be easy to find among us a man who has won a purer fame." Equally honorable was his conduct in 1839, in settling the difficulties connected with the north-eastern boundary. Here he reaped new laurels, and earned a new claim to the title of the *Great Pacificator*. But we must hasten on to scenes which, more than any we have yet recorded, have brought him prominently before the world.

The death of Major-General Macomb having taken place June 25, 1841, SCOTT was called to the command of the entire army; and in the discharge of its regular duties he remained almost uninterruptedly for several years. He took part, however, in the discussion of several public topics which arose during this period, and was in 1844, as he had been in 1839, a prominent candidate for the presidency. He was, however, on the eve of still greater honors.

The peace of the country, after having been long menaced by the state of our relations with Mexico, was at length broken by an unexpected collision, and we found ourselves plunged into open war with that country. In May, 1846, the Mexican forces were suddenly precipitated in large numbers upon the little army of General Taylor, who had command of our forces on the Rio Grande. That distinguished veteran astonished and electrified the country by the indomitable valor he displayed in repulsing the enemy, and in winning, in swift succession, the two battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. On the 24th of November, in that year, General SCOTT set out from Washington for the theatre of hostilities, charged with the command of our arms in that quarter. He reached the Rio Grande January 1st, 1847. Santa Anna, the commander of the Mexican army, lay at San Luis Potosi, midway between the Rio Grande and the city of Mexico, at the head of twenty-two thousand men. General Taylor had now crossed the river and advanced to Saltillo, about one hundred and fifty miles towards San Luis Potosi. He had under his command a force of eighteen thousand troops, which occupied the line connecting his

advanced position at Saltillo with the Rio Grande at Camargo. SCOTT divided this force, leaving ten thousand men under General Taylor, and taking the remainder with him by sea to Vera Cruz, where four thousand other troops had concentrated. The whole force was combined at the island of Lobos, and from that point the squadron, having on board twelve thousand men, set sail; General SCOTT, in the steamship Massachusetts, leading the van. As his steamer passed through the fleet, his tall form, conspicuous above every other, attracted the eyes of soldiers and sailors, who gave vent to their emotions of admiration and enthusiasm in one spontaneous cheer, which burst simultaneously from every vessel, and echoed and rang along the whole line. The fleet having arrived before Vera Cruz, and all preparations being completed, a little before sunset on the 9th of March the landing of this armament, destined for the reduction of one of the most formidable defences in the world, commenced, and before ten o'clock at night the troops had all been landed in perfect safety, with all their arms and accoutrements, without the slightest accident, or the loss of a single life—an achievement almost unparalleled in a military operation of such magnitude. In three days the army and the fleet had taken up their positions, and invested both the city and the castle, preparatory to their bombardment and siege. Our lines of circumvallation were five miles in length, and surrounded the city. By the 22d all was ready, and General SCOTT, having offered a free conduct out of the city of all non-combatants, sent his summons to the Governor of Vera Cruz to surrender. The Governor refused, and the batteries opened their destructive fire upon the devoted city, while the ships commenced their fearful broadsides upon the castle. During three days and nights an incessant discharge from the brazen mouths of mortars and cannon was kept up with unflagging zeal and irresistible power. On the 25th an application for a truce was made by the enemy, which was refused, and a surrender demanded. Accordingly, on the following morning, overtures for a surrender were made, and the city and fortress fell into our hands. Among the fruits of this victory were five thousand prisoners, and five hundred pieces of artillery. Our loss was but six killed and sixty wounded.

General SCOTT now proposed to advance upon the city of Mexico, but on the way had to grapple with enemies, and to accomplish mighty triumphs. Santa Anna, who had just returned from the field of Buena Vista, had collected all his forces, and was posted on the heights of Serro Gordo. Here the Mexican general was entrenched at the head of fifteen thousand troops; and here an attack was made by SCOTT

with the most consummate skill. In this action, one of the most remarkable of the war, he captured three thousand prisoners, four thousand stand of arms, forty pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition. A large sum of specie also fell into the hands of the victors. Continuing his rapid march with his small but victorious army, the cities of Jalapa, Perote, and Puebla, were successively taken, with much treasure in them. At the latter place the General met with Mr. Trist, who had arrived from Washington with power to negotiate with the enemy for peace. All his efforts, however, failed; and SCOTT, who had improved the interval of hostilities in acquiring information, determined at once to advance on the city of Mexico, a distance of ninety miles. His whole army amounted to ten thousand seven hundred men, who had to meet Santa Anna, at the head of a well-appointed army, thirty thousand in number. To detail the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey, would be far too much for our limits; this reason also prevents us from describing the forbearance he displayed in granting an armistice on the very eve of certain conquest—shamefully abused, however, by Santa Anna. Suffice it to say, in the language of General Cass, when eulogizing SCOTT in the Senate of the United States, "The movement of our army from Puebla was one of the most romantic and remarkable events which has ever occurred in the military annals of our country. Our troops voluntarily cut off all communication with their own country, and advanced with stout hearts, but feeble numbers, into the midst of a hostile people. The eyes of twenty millions of our countrymen were fixed upon this devoted band. They were lost to us for fifty days. But the cloud that hid them from our view at length broke, and disclosed to us our glorious flag waving in the breezes that drifted over the valley of the city of Mexico."

In a few days after the American flag was hoisted on the National Palace, the quiet of the city was restored, and all classes resumed their usual avocations, reposing the fullest confidence in the security afforded by our troops under their humane and Christian commander. SCOTT was now virtually the governor of Mexico. The manner in which he performed the responsible duties which devolved upon him for five months after his entrance into the city, exhibited him as a man amply qualified for the highest duties of statesmanship. It would be difficult to award any one higher praise than he received from all parties for his management of Mexican affairs after the termination of his military campaign.

On the 2d of February 1848, a treaty of peace was signed at Guadalope-Hidalgo by the Mexican and American commissioners; and on

the 22d of the following May he arrived at his home in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Here he was met by a committee from the civil authorities of the city of New York, and invited to a public dinner in that metropolis. He accepted the invitation, and escorted by a vast and imposing cavalcade, amid the roar of cannon and the waving of flags, and surrounded by dense and enthusiastic masses of his fellow citizens, he entered the city and partook of its highest honors. For a while he remained at his head quarters in New York, but in 1850 he was transferred to Washington, and took his place at the head of the army bureau, there to discharge its duties with as much industry and constancy as any clerk in the department.

Were General Scott at all disposed to cherish vanity, the high compliments which have been lavished upon him, by some of the most important of our states, might well make him proud; while the eulogiums pronounced on his conduct and character, by names eminent as Channing, and Clay, Clayton, and the Duke of Wellington, must more than satisfy his wishes; but he has far higher enjoyment in the consciousness of having served his country, and in the knowledge that his country is grateful for the benefits it has received. He now (July 1852) stands before the country, nominated by the Whig convention for the presidency.

The General, as we have already said, is remarkably tall; though suffering pain from the British bullet still lurking in his system, he is yet hale, vigorous and active, and may be seen any morning at sunrise making his daily pedestrian tour of the city of Washington, and providing at the market for the daily necessities of his household. He is hospitable, hearty and generous in all his intercourse with his friends; manifests, on all occasions, urbanity, and a lofty tone of thought; and is rich in anecdote, affluent in language, accurate in statement, and full of suggestive remarks on all colloquial topics. With one of the finest physical organizations ever given to man, as shown in his portrait, taken in the very prime of his life, and being remarkably temperate in his habits, he bids fair to obtain great longevity. May he long live an ornament to his country, an example of the highest and most genial qualities of manhood, embellished by the blandishments of a gentlemanly demeanor, and dignified by a lofty tone of morals and an uprightness of personal character and habits which not even the tongue of calumny has ever dared to assail.

# ANTHONY WAYNE.

If decision, promptness, and energy of character, combined with a sound judgment, correct principles, an ardent patriotism, and faithful service, merit distinction and a grateful record, no one is more entitled to them than the gallant Wayne.

There is, indeed, something in the name of Wayne, which immediately presents to the mind of every American, well read in the history of his country, the image of a bold, enterprising, and active officer, of a ready will and prompt execution; always ready to attack his enemy sword in hand, but impatient of restraint. This is the trait of his character, which particularly distinguishes him from those with whom he acted in the revolution, but, which peculiarly fitted him for the services on which his military reputation is established. It has been said of him, by one who knew him well, that he had "a constitutional attachment to the decision of the sword," and that "the general and his soldiers were singularly fitted for close and stubborn action, hand to hand, in the centre of the army." This may be accounted for on very probable grounds: his grandfather had been a commander of dragoons at the battle of the Boyne, and his father had distinguished himself in frequent conflicts with the Indians; young Wayne had consequently

> ——— "heard of battles, and he long'd
> To follow to the field some warlike chief."

Even at school, his studies were neglected for military amusements, and it was only by the dread of being compelled to labor on his father's farm, that his attention was diverted to his proper duties.

The subject of this sketch was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the first of January, 1745. Notwithstanding his distaste for his early studies, he left the Philadelphia academy, at the age of eighteen, a good mathematician, and commenced the business of a surveyor, which he pursued with success for some years, during which time, he turned his attention to engineering and astronomy, and has left some valuable manuscripts on those subjects. He took a deep interest

in the controversy with Great Britain, and was actively engaged in the measures, which were adopted preparatory to the great struggle, in which he performed so conspicuous a part.

In 1774, he was appointed one of the deputies to take into consideration the state of affairs between Great Britain and the colonies; was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and a representative in the provincial legislature. The prospect of approaching war brought him, at length, into possession of his wishes—a military command. He retired from civil employment in the fall of 1775, and raised a regiment of volunteers, of which he was elected colonel; he afterwards received the appointment of colonel from the continental congress, and at the head of a regiment of Pennsylvanians, marched to Canada. He served under General Thompson, at the battle of the Three Rivers, where he was wounded; yet he distinguished himself by his courage and skill in bringing off the troops, after his commander was defeated and taken prisoner. He was promoted by congress to the rank of brigadier general, February 21, 1777, being at that time in command at Ticonderoga. In May following, he joined the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey.

At the battle of Brandywine, on the 11th of September, he was opposed to Knyphausen, and steadily maintained the contest, until after Cornwallis had turned the right of the American army. On the 16th, the two armies again met, to try the issue of another battle, in which, Philadelphia was to be the prize of the victor. WAYNE, who commanded the advance, commenced the action with spirit; but a violent storm, with a deluge of rain, prevented a general engagement, and so damaged the ammunition of the Americans, that they were obliged to retire until it could be replenished, and the British army took possession of Philadelphia on the 26th.

In the mean time, WAYNE had suffered an unfortunate surprise. He had moved into the rear of the British left wing, and taken a position at about three miles distance, near the Paoli tavern, intending to fall on them when they decamped. The usual precautions were taken; but accurate information of his position and force had been conveyed to the British, and they effected a surprise at night, which compelled him in haste to retreat, with serious loss. The affair was made the subject of military investigation, and he was acquitted with honor, "as having done every thing that could be expected, from an active, vigilant, and brave officer, under the orders which he then had." A monument has been erected on the spot, to the memory of the brave men who fell there.

At Germantown, he signalized himself by his bravery in action, and prudence in retreat; he was twice slightly wounded, and had his horse shot under him, within a few yards of the enemy's front.

While the army lay, in the winter of 1777–8, at Valley Forge, WAYNE was detached into New Jersey, with a body of troops, to collect cattle and destroy the forage, which would be likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. He succeeded, even in the face of the foe, in sending into camp several hundred head of cattle, and a number of fine horses, and forage. It was in consequence of this success, that Major André wrote a song, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," of which the concluding stanza runs thus:

"But now I end my lyric strain—
I tremble while I show it!
Lest this same warrio-drover, WAYNE,
Should ever catch the poet."

The unfortunate poet's fate soon changed his mock-heroic to a tragic strain; for when taken, he was delivered to WAYNE, at Tappan.

The British army evacuated Philadelphia, in June, 1778, and pursued the direct route to New York; and Washington's force, which was about equal to it, immediately was put in motion, and crossed into Jersey. A council was held, to deliberate on the proper course to be pursued. WAYNE and Cadwallader were for battle; but all the foreign officers, and a large majority of the whole board, were decidedly against it. As the army drew near the enemy, in the vicinity of Monmouth, WAYNE again advocated an attack; and in the battle which ensued, he added to his reputation, and won the commendation of the commander-in-chief, who particularly mentioned him in his official report.

The occasion on which WAYNE next distinguished himself, was the attack of Stony Point. This is a considerable height, situated on the Hudson, the greater part of whose base is washed by the river, and the remainder is covered by a morass, through which there is but one crossing-place. On the summit of the hill was a fort, mounted with heavy cannon; breast-works were advanced in front of the principal work; half way down, there was a double row of abattis; and in addition, there were several vessels of war in the river, whose guns commanded the ground at the foot of the hill.

Stony Point had been taken, not long before, by Sir Henry Clinton, and the works had been greatly strengthened by his orders. General Washington thought its recovery of great moment, and planned an

expedition against it, the command of which he entrusted to WAYNE. On the 15th of July, 1779, the troops left Sandy Beach, at noon, and arrived in the vicinity of the fort, at eight o'clock, in the evening. The measures of the Americans had been so well taken, that every person had been secured, who could give information of their move ments to the fort. The hour of midnight was fixed on for the assault. At half past eleven, the Americans advanced in two columns, with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. A forlorn hope, of twenty men, preceded each of them, to remove the abattis and other obstructions. The marsh was reached undiscovered, and twenty minutes before twelve, the troops rushed to the charge, amid a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot, and overcoming every obstacle, they took possession of the fort without firing a gun.

Sixty-three of the garrison were killed in the assault, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. In the attack, WAYNE was wounded by a musket ball, which grazed the skull: he fell, but instantly rising on one knee, he exclaimed, "Forward, my brave fellows, forward!" But supposing himself to be mortally wounded, he requested his aids to assist him, that he might die in the fort. For this exploit, he received the thanks of congress, and a gold medal.

On the first of January, 1781, the Pennsylvania troops, in the vicinity of Morristown, revolted, and determined to present their grievances to congress in a body. They paraded under arms without officers, supplied themselves with ammunition and provisions, seized six pieces of artillery, and took the horses from the generals' stable. WAYNE, in vain, endeavored to bring them to their duty by expostulation: he cocked his pistol, and they presented their bayonets to his breast, saying, "we respect and love you; you have often led us into the field of battle; but we are no longer under your command; if you fire your pistols, or attempt to enforce your commands, we shall instantly put you to death." They assured him, that they were still attached to the cause they had embraced, and would not abandon it; and that if the enemy should dare to come out of New York, they would, under his orders, face them in the field. The grievances of these men were of a serious character; but as it is not to our purpose to detail them, it will be sufficient to notice, that the majority of the Pennsylvania line were discharged from further service.

WAYNE was then sent to Virginia, where he served with La Fayette; and was present at the siege of Yorktown, and contributed to the happy termination of the campaign. He was then despatched

into Georgia, to protect the country from the incursions of the garrison of Savannah; and, if he found a suitable opportunity, to carry that post by a nocturnal assault. On his approach, the country was laid waste with fire by the enemy; but he drew his supplies from South Carolina, and at the head of a force equal only to half that opposed to him, he pursued his operations with vigor. He defeated Colonel Brown, who had been sent out to protect a party of Indians, on their way to Savannah, for the purposes of trade. About a month after the defeat of Brown, the party it had been his object to protect, reached the neighborhood of WAYNE unperceived, and their leader, Guristersigo, a chief of renown, had obtained information of the station of an American picket, directly on his route to Savannah: through this picket he determined to force his way; but when he made the attempt, he found the main body, with the General, at the post: and, although he succeeded in silently killing the sentinel, and falling upon the rear by surprise, about two hours before day, he was killed in the conflict, and his party scattered in every direction. The protection afforded by the force under General WAYNE, enabled the governor and council again to establish civil authority in Georgia; and, in a short time, Savannah, the last hold of the British power in that state, was evacuated. At this time, General Greene was approaching Charleston, and WAYNE proceeded to join him; and when the British force retired, he entered the town, at the head of the light troops.

On the return of peace, he retired to private life. In 1789, he was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and was an advocate for the present constitution of the United States.

In 1792, he was appointed to the command of the army engaged against the Indians, on the north-western frontier.

The Indians, on that border, excited by the tories and British agents, resident among them, had for a long time evinced their hostility to the American government. To repress and punish these hostilities, several expeditions had been made into their country; but these had failed; and from their failure, the Indians derived new strength and confidence. Harmar had retreated from their country beaten, and with disgrace; and St. Clair had been routed with terrific slaughter. Success, of course, gave new hope and boldness to the savages; and, it was feared, that it would excite other tribes to join their alliance, and produce a general confederation among them. They had rejected, with disdain, every overture to accommodation; and two brave and meritorious officers, Colonel Harden and Major

Freeman, whilst bearing a scheme of pacification to them, had been barbarously murdered. Under these circumstances, when the command of the army destined for the new expedition was of such importance, General Washington evinced his confidence in WAYNE, by nominating him to it. The service was accounted so dangerous, and there was so little inducement to enlist, that the recruiting of troops proceeded but slowly. Under these circumstances, it was thought that the meditated expedition could not prudently be undertaken in the course of that year. The Indians, too, evinced a greater willingness to treat; and, through the intervention of the Six Nations, the savages of the Miami and the Wabash, consented to hold a conference with the American commissioners in the ensuing spring, that of 1793. In the mean time, the preparations for war went on: the army was cantoned on the Ohio for the winter; the new levies were disciplined, and the recruiting continually urged. In the spring, the American commissioners proceeded to Niagara; but the Indians did not meet them until July. Their demands were then so exorbitant, as to be utterly inadmissible by the United States. The negotiations had, however, been protracted until September; and when the savages announced their rejection of the terms proposed by the commissioners, the season was too far advanced to make any decisive movements. WAYNE deferred all hostile operations until the ensuing spring, but he advanced, and took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, and built a fort there, which he called Fort Recovery. By taking this position he was enabled to protect, more effectually, the frontiers of the union, while the army remained within striking distance of the principal settlements of the enemy.

In the next year, active preparations were made for bringing the war to a conclusion; but the difficulty of procuring supplies retarded the opening of the campaign until near midsummer; and it was not until the 8th of August that the army arrived at the junction of the river Au Glaize with the Miami of the Lakes. Here, WAYNE halted a few days, for the purpose of throwing up some works for the protection of his baggage. About forty miles distant, the British occupied a post; and it was in the vicinity of this post that the hostile Indians were assembled. According to information on which he relied, WAYNE calculated their numbers to amount to about two thousand men. To this, his own force was superior; the continental legion alone being nearly equal in numbers to the Indians: besides which, he had under his command about eleven hundred Kentucky militia.

Though confident of victory, with a humane and generous policy, he determined to make one more effort to obtain peace without the effusion of blood. He invited the Indians to appoint deputies to meet him on his march, in order to negotiate a treaty: he exhorted them to be no longer deceived by the counsel of those who had neither power nor inclination to protect them; and he urged them to accede to his present proposition, as the only means of preserving themselves and their families from famine.

On the 15th, the army advanced, by slow and cautious marches, down the Miami: one brigade of mounted volunteers, commanded by Brigadier General Todd, on the left; the other, by Brigadier General Barber, in the rear. A select battalion of mounted volunteers, commanded by Major Price, moved in front of the legion, to prevent surprise, the Indians having returned an evasive answer to the proposition of a treaty, and General WAYNE not knowing which to expect, peace or war. After advancing about five miles, the corps under Major Price received a heavy fire from the enemy, concealed among the woods and high grass, and fell back upon the main body.

The Indians had chosen a position very favorable to their mode of warfare. A great quantity of fallen timber, which seemed to have been blown down by a tornado, rendered the wood in front of the British fort almost inaccessible to cavalry; and, in this wood, they had formed their army in three lines, according to their custom, with a very extended front, stretching nearly two miles at right angles with the river. Judging from the extent of their lines, and the heaviness of their fire, that the enemy was in full force in front, and endeavoring to turn his left flank, WAYNE ordered the second line to advance to the support of the first, at the same time the first line was ordered to advance and charge, and "to rouse the Indians at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire upon their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again, nor to form their lines."

Colonel Campbell, with the legionary cavalry, was also ordered to turn their left flank, next to the river, where the ground was more favorable for horse to act on; and General Scott, with the mounted volunteers, was directed to perform the same service on their right. These orders were obeyed with spirit and promptness. "But such," says the General, in his despatch, "was the intrepidity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians, and Canadian militia, and volunteers, were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the

second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Wood, and Barber, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in time to participate in the action, the enemy being driven in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half of their number." The troops actually engaged on the part of the Americans, did not amount to nine hundred men. The Americans, in this action, lost thirty-three men killed, and one hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be exactly ascertained. WAYNE remained for three days on the banks of the Miami, during which time all the houses and corn-fields, for a considerable distance, above and below the field of battle, were destroyed: among them, were the property and stores of M'Kee, the British Indian agent, and a principal instigator of the war. During these operations, a correspondence took place between General WAYNE, and Colonel Campbell, the commander of the British garrison; and the latter prevented hostilities only by permitting the destruction of property within reach of the guns of the fort. On the 27th, the army returned to head quarters.

The hostilities of the Indians still continuing, forts were established in the midst of their settlements, to prevent their return. These measures proved successful. The hopes of the savages were crushed, their resources exhausted, and their brethren, who had shown symptoms of a dangerous temper, prevented from taking part with them. On the 3d of August, 1795, a definitive treaty, on terms satisfactory to the American government, was concluded with them, by General WAYNE. The next year saw the termination of his useful and honorable life. He died in December, 1796, in a hut at Presque Isle, while engaged in the service of his country. His remains were buried upon the shores of Lake Erie; but, in 1809, they were removed to his native county, by his son, Isaac Wayne, Esq.

General WAYNE was possessed of a commanding presence, pleasing address, and daring bravery. He was excellent in discipline, unrivalled in enterprise, and was always held in high respect by his companions in arms.

The state of Georgia testified their gratitude to him by the present of an estate, immediately in the neighborhood of one given to his friend General Greene. The Cincinnati society have erected a monument to his memory, in the cemetery of St. David's church, near the place of his birth.

Wm Macdonough

# THOMAS MACDONOUGH.

THIS gallant officer was born in the county of Newcastle, in the state of Delaware, in December, 1783. His father was a physician, but inspired with a love of liberty, he entered the army of the revolution as a major; he did not, however, remain long in the service, but returned to private life and his professional pursuits, until the close of the war, when he was made a judge; in which office he remained until his death, which happened in 1795. He left three sons. His eldest son, James, was a midshipman with Commodore Truxton when he took the Insurgent. In that battle he was so severely wounded, that there was a necessity of amputating his leg. He soon afterwards left the navy, with the reputation of a brave officer. In 1798, the subject of this memoir obtained a warrant as a midshipman, and commenced his career as a naval officer. Those who were acquainted with his early life, spoke of Midshipman MACDONOUGH as a young officer of great promise, but he had no opportunity of being made known to the public until the country had the misfortune of losing the frigate Philadelphia. When the gallant Decatur proposed to burn her, as she lay in possession of the enemy, he selected MACDONOUGH as one of the young officers to accompany him on that hazardous expedition; and he reaped an early harvest of honor in that daring exploit, with his leader and others. The Mediterranean has been the birth place of more naval reputations than all the waters of the world beside, and it was there, too, that our infant navy displayed some of those acts of valor and good conduct which were of importance in themselves, and were hailed as presages of future glories for our country. When MACDONOUGH was first lieutenant of the Siren, under command of Captain Smith, a circumstance occurred in the harbor of Gibralter sufficiently indicative of the firmness and decision of his character. An American merchant brig came to anchor near the United States vessel. MACDONOUGH, in the absence of Captain Smith, who had gone on shore, saw a boat from a British frigate board the

brig and take from her a man; he instantly manned and armed his gig, and pursued the British boat, which he overtook, just as it reached the frigate, and without ceremony took the impressed man into his own boat. The frigate's boat was twice the force of his own; but the act was so bold as to astound the lieutenant who commanded the press-gang, and no resistance was offered. When the affair was made known to the British captain he came on board of the Siren in a great rage, and inquired how he dared to take a man from his boat. MACDONOUGH replied that the man was an American seaman, and was under the protection of the flag of the United States, and that it was his duty to protect him. The captain, with a volley of oaths, swore he would bring his frigate along side the Siren and sink her. "This you may do," said MACDONOUGH; "but while she swims the man you will not have." The English captain told MACDONOUGH that he was a young hair-brained fellow, and would repent of his rashness. "Supposing, sir," said he, "I had been in that boat, would you have dared to have committed such an act?" "I should have made the attempt, sir, at all hazards," was the reply. "What, sir!" said the English captain, "would you venture to interfere if I were to impress men from that brig?" "You have only to try it, sir," was the pithy answer. The English officer returned to his ship, manned his boat and made his way towards the brig; MACDONOUGH did the same; but there the affair ended,—the English boat took a circuitous route and returned to the ship. There was such a calmness in the conduct of Lieutenant MACDONOUGH, such a solemnity in his language, such a politeness in his manner, that the British officer saw that he had to deal with no ordinary man—and that it was not prudent to put him on his mettle.

In that garden of the world, the shores of the Mediterranean, where nations have grown up and decayed, and others have taken their places; where every thing is marked with age, luxury, crime, and temptation, and where many a fine young officer has made shipwreck of his morals and his health; MACDONOUGH exhibited the Spartan firmness with the Christian virtues. His bravery was never for a moment doubted, but he was so reserved, temperate, and circumspect, that the envious, sometimes, strove to bring him to their level, and often were snares set for him; but he was never caught. His character was fair and bright as the surface of a steel mirror, before it was brought to reflect any ray of glory upon himself and his country.

There is a good share of sagacity in the common sailor; he sees

through a character much clearer than we generally think he does; before MACDONOUGH had been promoted to a lieutenancy, he had the heart of every sailor who knew him. There are few so ignorant that they cannot discover moral worth, when connected with professional ability; and none so bad, as not to approve of it.

It has often been stated, and never questioned, that while in Syracuse, MACDONOUGH was one night attacked by three assassins, with daggers. He drew his sword, and wounded two of them so severely as to fear nothing further from them, the other fled, but he pursued him to the roof of a building, and climbing it after the assassin, would have caught him, if he had not thrown himself from it, with the loss of his existence. In the latter part of his life, MACDONOUGH suffered much from ill-health; but at this time he was one of the most active and athletic officers of the navy, and was dexterous in the use of his sword.

Not many of the ships of the American navy were in commission from the close of the Tripolitan war, until the war of 1812. Those few which visited the maritime places in Europe, South America, or the West Indies, were viewed with no ordinary curiosity, and even thought, by some, to have a respectable appearance; but there was not the slightest suspicion that we were so soon to take rank among those nations who boast of naval exploits. But after the declaration of war with England, our navy was put into requisition, and every officer panted for distinction. The elder officers were mostly sent on the ocean; some of the high spirited juniors to the lakes,—among the latter, Lieutenant MACDONOUGH was ordered to Lake Champlain. This was an important station, for through this lake a communication could most readily be had with the most powerful portion of the Canadas. The main armies of the British were always to be near Montreal and Quebec, but for the first two years of the war, both sides were busy in another direction, particularly on the Lakes Ontario and Erie. The contending powers watched each other's movements and kept nearly pari passu in the augmentation of their naval forces; the English always in the advance, having in many respects, greater facilities; if not in ship building, certainly in procuring munitions of war, sails, rigging, &c.

Towards the close of the summer of 1814, the warlike preparations on Lake Champlain, and its vicinity, seemed to portend some powerful shock. Large bodies of troops, the veterans of Wellington's army, to the amount, it was said, of sixteen thousand, had arrived in Canada, and were preparing to strike a severe blow on the frontiers,

one that would be felt to the very vitals of the nation. Izard received orders to assist Brown, and Macomb was left with a handful of troops at Plattsburgh. He put himself into the best attitude of defence a brave and intelligent officer could, and called on the neighboring militia to come to his aid; meanwhile the fleet under MACDONOUGH was put in readiness for an attack. He had only four ships, such as they were; the Saratoga, twenty-six guns; the Eagle, twenty guns; the Ticonderoga, seventeen guns, the Preble, seven guns; and ten gallies, carrying sixteen—in the whole eighty-six guns. The British force was larger: the frigate Confiance, thirty-nine guns; the Linnet, sixteen guns; the Chubb, eleven guns; the Finch, eleven guns; and thirteen gallies, carrying eighteen guns—making a total of ninety-five guns; a superiority over the American fleet of nine guns; their complement of men was much greater. That the American fleet was commanded by a young officer who ranked only as lieutenant, and the British by an experienced one, Captain Downie, gave Sir George Prevost no doubt of the issue of his naval operations. On the land, too, with his veterans and other troops, he was quite certain of a signal victory.

On the afternoon of the 10th of September, it was evident that the assault on the lake and on the land was to be made the next day, and MACDONOUGH deemed it best to await the attack at anchor. At eight o'clock, on the morning of the 11th, the British fleet was seen approaching, and in an hour the battle became general. The most accurate description of it must be from his own pen.

"At nine," says the captain, "the enemy anchored in a line ahead, at about three hundred yards distant from my line; his ship opposed to the Saratoga; his brig to the Eagle, Captain Robert Henley; his gallies, thirteen in number, to the schooner, sloop, and a division of our gallies; one of his sloops assisting their ship and brig; the other assisting their gallies: our remaining gallies were with the Saratoga and Eagle.

"In this situation, the whole force on both sides became engaged; the Saratoga suffering much from the heavy fire of the Confiance. I could perceive at the same time, however, that our fire was very destructive to her. The Ticonderoga, Lieutenant Commandant Cassin, gallantly sustained her full share of the action. At half past ten, the Eagle, not being able to bring her guns to bear, cut her cable, and anchored in a more eligible position, between my ship and the Ticonderoga, where she very much annoyed the enemy, but unfortunately leaving me much exposed to a galling fire from the enemy's brig.

"Our guns on the starboard side being nearly all dismounted, or unmanageable, a stern anchor was let go, the lower cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the enemy's ship, which soon after surrendered. Our broadside was then sprung to bear on the brig, which surrendered about fifteen minutes afterwards. The sloop which was opposed to the Eagle, had struck some time before, and drifted down the line. The sloop that was with their gallies had also struck. Three of their gallies are said to be sunk; the others pulled off. Our gallies were about obeying with alacrity the signal to follow them, when all the vessels were reported to me to be in a sinking state. It then became necessary to annul the signal to the gallies, and order their men to the pumps. I could only look at the enemy's gallies going off in a shattered condition, for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on. The lower rigging being nearly shot away, hung down as though it had just been placed over the mast heads.

"The Saratoga had fifty-five round shot in her hull; the Confiance one hundred and five. The enemy's shot passed principally just over our heads, as there were not twenty whole hammocks in the nettings, at the close of the action, which lasted without intermission two hours and twenty minutes.

"The absence and sickness of Lieutenant Raymond Perry left me without the assistance of that excellent officer. Much ought fairly to be attributed to him for his great care and attention in disciplining the ship's crew, as her first lieutenant. His place was filled by a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Peter Gamble; who, I regret to inform you, was killed early in the action."

The Saratoga was twice set on fire during the action, by hot shot from the Confiance; but the flames were promptly extinguished.

At the same time the land forces were engaged; both armies looking on the sea-fight as in a measure the turning point with them. The loss of the Americans was fifty-two killed, and fifty-eight wounded, that of the British, eighty-four killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. The prisoners taken exceeded the whole number of Americans in the action. Sir George and his army were the next day on the retreat. This victory was hailed by the whole nation with great joy. The state of New York, in justice and gratitude, gave the gallant commodore a thousand acres of land, of no small value, and the state of Vermont made a grant of two hundred acres, within a short distance of the battle ground; this is a delightful spot, and may be seen from the distant hills very distinctly, and from the manor you have

a fine view of the lake, particularly that part of it where the American fleet was anchored. While rambling over these grounds one cannot help thinking of the lines of the bard of Newstead Abbey,

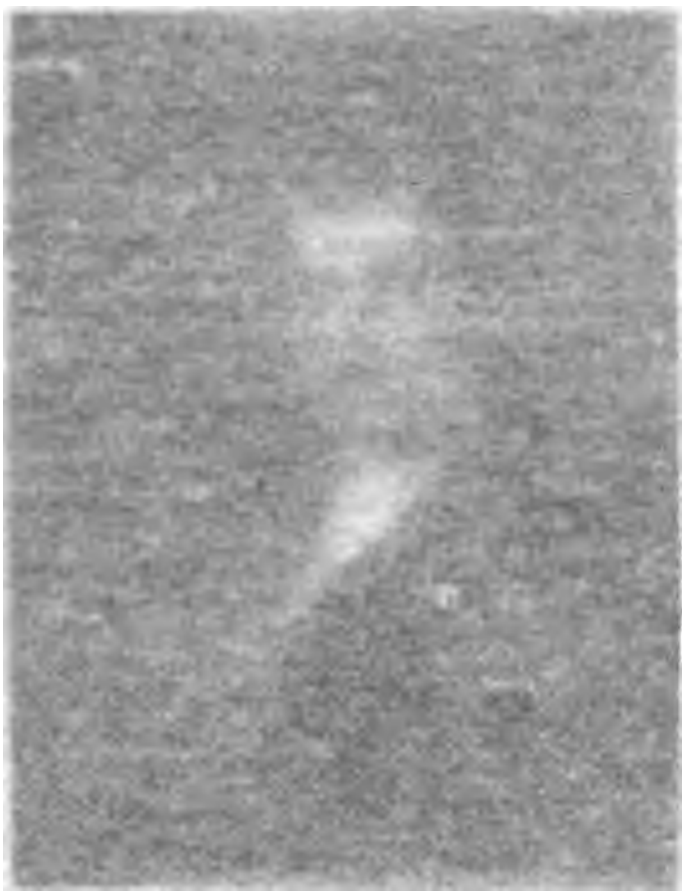
> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

Both scenes awaken visions of national glory; but our view, as yet, affords no painful contrasts, except, when we ask where is he who fought and conquered here? The city of New York gave MACDONOUGH a valuable lot of land, and the city of Albany followed the example. Festive honors were offered him in all places he chanced to pass through, but they were not often accepted. He loved fame, but not her obstreperous notes. For this victory he was promoted to the rank of post captain.

From the close of the war to the time of his decease, he shared the honors of the home and foreign service with his compeers. He was an excellent member of courts-martial, for he brought to those tribunals a candid mind, ever ready to find matters that made in favor of the accused as well as against him. We have an opportunity of speaking from an intimate acquaintance with the fact, that on several courts-martial, the accused have congratulated themselves, that all that was brought against them was to be considered by such a mind as MACDONOUGH'S; at the same time, they were not wanting in justice to other honorable members.

For several years before his death he made his home in Middletown, Connecticut, where he had married Miss Shaler, a lady of a highly respectable family in that place. He died of a consumption, on the tenth day of November, 1825. His wife had paid the debt of nature a few months before him.

In person, MACDONOUGH was tall, dignified, and commanding. His features were pleasing; his complexion, hair, and eyes were light; but there was such a firmness and steadfastness in his look as to take away all appearance of the want of masculine energy, which is often attached to the idea of a delicate complexion. The great charm of his character was the refinement of his taste, the purity of his principles, and the sincerity of his religion; these give a perfume to his name, which the partial page of history seldom can retain for departed warriors, however brilliant their deeds.



# WASHINGTON IRVING.

THE subject of the present memoir was the youngest son of a gentleman of Scottish origin, who long ago settled in the city of New York, where he engaged in the duties of a merchant, and enjoyed the high esteem of his contemporaries for unblemished integrity and unassuming moral worth. WASHINGTON was born April 3, 1783, and in very early life the powers of mind, for which he has since been so eminently distinguished, began to develope themselves. Some of his brothers had already become eminent among their friends for their literary taste and ability as writers, while their younger brother was yet a child. In their society he began the practice of composition, and may be almost said to have commenced his education where others are accustomed to finish it. We have been informed, that he manifested in his youth a meditative and almost melancholy disposition; not, however, without occasional and brilliant flashes of the humor that is the distinctive character of his most successful compositions. This disposition did not prevent him from entering with spirit into many of the pranks of his comrades, or even from becoming the plotter and ringleader in many a scheme of merry mischief.

The youth of the city of New York were then a happy race. Their place of residence had not yet assumed its metropolitan character, and the freedom and ease of almost rural life, were blended with the growing refinements of an increasing population. The advantageous position of its port made wealth flow rapidly into its merchants' coffers, and the natives of other parts of our country had not yet begun to colonize it, and compete for a share of its growing riches. The elder members of the community, seeing their property increasing almost without knowing why, had not yet perceived the necessity of drilling their children to habits of early labor and premature prudence. The gambling spirit that characterized one era of the commercial history of New York, had not yet made its appearance; nor had that ardent competition, that

steels the heart against all but selfish feelings, been awakened. That system of instruction, which confines children for six hours a day in almost listless inactivity in a school room, and then dismisses them, to pursue their labors unassisted for even a longer time, was not yet invented. Schoolmasters yet thought it their duty to instruct; and when their unruly subjects were emancipated from direct control, they had no other thought but to spend the rest of the day in active sport, and the night in slumbers, undisturbed by the dread of the morrow's task.

For the enjoyment of these vacant hours, the vicinity of New York then offered the most inviting opportunities. A few minutes' walk brought the youth of the city into open and extensive pastures, diversified by wood and sheets of transparent water; on either hand flowed noble rivers, whose quiet waters invited even the most timid to acquire "the noblest exercise of strength;" when winter made such recreations impracticable, sheets of smooth and glittering ice spread themselves out to tempt the skater, and the youth of the Manhattoes rivalled, if not excelled, the glories of their Dutch father-land, in the speed and activity with which they glided over the glassy surface.

It may be the partial recollection of our infancy, but it is not less the firm conviction of our minds, that in all our wanderings, we have seen no city, with the exception of the "Queen of the North," whose environs possessed natural beauties equal to those of New York. These beauties have now vanished—paved streets and piles of tasteless brick have covered the grassy slopes and verdant meadows; the lofty hills have been applied to the ignoble purpose of filling up the neighboring lakes. Nor should we complain of these changes, but consider the prosperity, of which they are an evidence, as more than equivalent to the destruction of wild and rural beauty, in those places where a crowded population has actually found its abode; but we cannot tolerate that barbarism which makes beauty consist in straight lines and right angles, cuts our whole island into oblong squares, and considers, that to convert the fertile surface into a barren and sandy waste, is the only fit preparation for an increasing city. The blossomed orchards of Bayard and Delancey have given place to snug brick houses, the sylvan deities have fled the groves of Peter's field and Rose hill, and we can rejoice; but why should the flowery vales of Bloomendahl be cut up by streets and avenues? Nor has the spirit of devastation stopped here, but has invaded the whole neighborhood, until the antres and cliffs of Hoboken have given place to a railroad.

The early fancies of Mr. Irving were deeply impressed with the beauty of the natural scenery of the island of Manhattan. These impressions have given birth to many and choice passages in his various works. But, aware that such romantic fancies might come with an ill grace from one hackneyed in the ways of our commercial and prosaic city, he has given being to a personage, in whose mouth they become the utterance of patriotic virtue.

New York, at that time, presented the singular spectacle of races distinct in origin, character and temper, struggling, as it were, for ascendancy; and although the struggle finally terminated happily, in the utter confusion of all such distinctions, and the formation of a single civic character, it was not the less apparent. Wasted, too, as was the anger and anxiety the struggle occasioned upon the most petty objects, it presented, to a mind highly sensible to the ludicrous, most amusing matter of contemplation. First and most marked, were to be seen the descendants of the original settlers from Holland, retaining, in their own separate intercourse, the language and habits of their ancestors, indulging the hereditary grudge of a conquered people to its subduers, although moderated and tempered by native kindness and good nature. Next was to be remarked the New Englander, distinguished by his intelligence and activity, and just beginning to enter into that rivalry with the Bavarian, that has ended in a disappearance, almost total, of patronymic names of the latter from the streets in which business is transacted. Before the superior energy and restless enterprise of this race, the Dutch were beginning to quail, and retaliated for the loss of business, to which they were exposed, by outward expressions of contempt, and inward feelings of dread and apprehension. Last, and least numerous, but at the time most distinguished for wealth and mercantile influence, was to be seen a clan of Scots. These were shrewd, calculating, and enterprising; but mixed with their habits of business and economy much hospitality, and unchecked, but harmless convivialitv. Accustomed from his infancy to the contemplation of the character of this race in his father and his associates, its peculiarities have not struck him as an object for delineation, or filial reverence has forbidden him to attempt it. Its habits and manners have, however, evidently served to bring out in higher relief the peculiarities of the other races.

Mr. Irving had hardly reached the age of manhood when he appeared to be threatened with a pulmonary affection, as a preventive of which. it was considered expedient that he should visit the south of Europe. He therefore, in May, 1804, embarked for Bordeaux,

where he landed in the following month. Here, however, he was not inclined to continue, but traveled through the south of France to Nice, and coasted on a felucca to Genoa; thence he went by sea to Messina in Sicily, on an American ship, which was boarded and partially plundered by pirates off the island of Elba. From Messina he sailed on the United States schooner of war Nautilus, to Syracuse, passing through the Straits at the same time with Admiral Lord Nelson's fleet, then in quest of the French fleet, which had escaped from Toulon. Still intent on moving, he traveled by land to Catania, visited Mount Etna, crossed Sicily by the valley Juna to Palermo, passed over, on an orange boat, to Naples. From hence he traveled to Rome, across the Appenines to Loretto, thence to Bologna, Milan, and across St. Gothard into Switzerland. He then traversed the Lake of the free Cantons, and visited Lucerne, Basle, &c. on his way to Paris. After the sojourn of a few months in that city, he proceeded through Belgium to Holland, and sailed from Rotterdam to London, and passed several months in England, returning home in the spring of 1806, after an absence of two years, with his health very happily renovated.

This voyage, undertaken with far different views than those which now usually direct the travels of young Americans, was also wholly different in its course, and in the impressions it was likely to produce. Instead of a gradual preparation for the views of the old world, by a passage through countries connected by ties of blood and language, or familiar to him in consequence of an active and frequent commerce, he was transported, as if in a moment, to lands where, in direct contrast to the continual strides his own country is making, every thing is torpid, and even retrograde; lands in which the objects of interest are rather the glories of by-gone ages, than any thing that the present era can exhibit. No change of scene more abrupt can well be imagined, and none more likely to excite the mind of youthful genius. For the guide books and tours of modern travelers, that are the usual manuals of a tourist, it became necessary to substitute the writings of the ancients. These would be most favorably studied upon the very spots where they were written, or of which they treat, and even when consulted in a mere translation, cannot fail to improve and refine the taste. In the fine scenery of Calabria, he recognized the studies of Salvator Rosa, and in his progress through Italy, luxuriated in the treasures of ancient and modern art, then almost a sealed book to his countrymen.

Before his departure for Europe he had made his first literary essays, in a newspaper of which his brother, Dr. P. Irving, was editor.

There is little doubt that these were not few in number, but none can now be identified, except the series of letters under the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle. These were collected, as a matter of bookselling speculation, after the literary reputation of their author was established, and published, although without his sanction. His return was speedily followed by the appearance of the first number of Salmagundi. Those who recur to this sprightly work at the present day, cannot enter into the feelings with which it was received at the epoch at which it was published. They will, indeed, see that it is not unworthy of the reputation afterwards attained by those, who have admitted themselves to have been its authors. But the exact and skillful adaptation of its delicate and witty allusions to the peculiar circumstances of the times, the rich humor with which prevailing follies were held up to ridicule, and, above all, the exquisite good nature of the satire, that made it almost an honor to have been its object, rendered Salmagundi the most popular work that had ever issued from the American press. Until it made its appearance, our literary efforts had been almost wholly confined to serious discussions upon general and local politics; if a few works of fancy had been produced, the age was not ripe for their reception, and, as in the case of Brown, they procured for their authors no more than a posthumous fame. The well founded belief, that Mr. IRVING had been the principal writer in Salmagundi, placed him, at once, first in the list of the living authors of America. His next literary production was "The History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker." The idea of this humorous work appears to have been suggested to him by the establishment of a historical society in New York, and the announcement, that one of its members was about to compile from its collections a history of the early periods of our colonial existence. Identifying himself, in imagination, with a descendant of the original Dutch settlers, he adopted, in his fictitious character, all the feelings and prejudices that might well be supposed to be inherent in that race, with an air of gravity and verisimilitude that is well calculated to mislead a reader not previously aware of the deception. The public was prepared for the reception of the work by advertisements, ingeniously planned and worded, in which the supposed landlord of the imaginary author expressed his anxiety for the safety of his guest, until it might fairly have been believed that the veracious historian had actually disappeared from his lodgings. So perfect was the deception, that many commenced the work in full belief of its being serious, and gravely toiled through many of its pages before the wit, and an interest too intense to be created by so trivial a

subject as the annals of a little Dutch borough, undeceived them. The author frequently delighted himself, and we are sure must still recur with pleasure, to the anecdote of an aged and most respectable clergyman, who taking up the work, without referring to its title page or introduction, read many of its chapters in the full belief that it was the production of a clerical brother, who had promised a history of the same period, and was only gradually aroused to a suspicion of his mistake, by the continued variation of the style from grave and solemn irony, through lively wit and poignant humor, until it fairly bordered on the ludicrous. Such is the character of this veracious history; the mask is worn at first with the greatest gravity, yet in such a manner as to give effect to the keenest and most poignant satire, while as soon as it becomes impossible for the reader to credit that it is other than a work of fancy, the author gives full play to his imagination, and riots in an excess of delicate wit and playful humor. Yet are not these the sole merits of the work: it is occasionally tender, and even pathetic; often replete with lively pictures, worthy, when of character and costume, of the pencil of a Teniers; when of scenery, of that of Claude. In addition, the style is the purest idiomatic English that had been written for many a year, and carries us back to the glories of an Augustan age. It is in marked contrast, not only with the barbarisms of the American newspaper writers of his day, but with the corruptions of the pure fount that their English critics are themselves guilty of. This grace and purity of style is also to be remarked in all his subsequent writings; but his Knickerbocker possesses, in addition, more of nerve and force than they in general do. Its language is either that in which his thoughts spontaneously flowed, or, if elaborated, exhibits that perfection of art which hides the means by which the effect is produced. His other works do not always conceal the labor by which the polish has been attained, and the very grace and smoothness of the periods, sometimes seems to call for a relief to the ear, like that which skillful musicians sometimes apply, in the form of an occasional discord.

Were we, however, to be asked where we are to find the prose language of England in its highest degree of perfection, we think we might safely point to the works of Mr. Irving; these are composed in a style more correct than that of Addison, more forcible than that of Goldsmith, more idiomatic than that of the writers of the Scottish school; and, while it takes advantage of the engraftation of words of Latin and Grecian origin upon the Anglo-Saxon, it is far removed from the learned affectation of Johnson.

The hours in which the papers of Salmagundi were composed, and the History of the New Netherlands compiled, were stolen from the dry study of the law. To this, Mr. IRVING seemed for a time to be condemned, and in spite of the gravity with which, as in the case of Murray, the heads of judges were shaken at him as a wit, he persevered in it, and obtained his license to practice. It is even said, that he opened an office, and that his name was seen painted on a sign, with the adjunct, "Attorney at Law." But it was not predestined that Mr. IRVING should merge these grave doubts in the honors of the woolsack. A client was indeed found hardy enough to trust his cause to the young barrister, but an oppressive feeling of diffidence caused him to shrink from trying it, and it was gladly abandoned to a brother lawyer of far less talent, but who possessed a more happy degree of confidence in his own forensic abilities. This diffidence, literary success has converted into an innate and unaffected modesty, that adds not a little to Mr. IRVING'S agreeable qualities, and which is rare in a person possessed of so high a reputation as he enjoys.

The literary pursuits of Mr. IRVING were interrupted for several years after the publication of Knickerbocker. During this interval, he was admitted by his brothers into a commercial establishment, that they were then successfully carrying on, and in which, it appeared, he might be more profitably engaged than as an author. The business of this mercantile house being interrupted by the war with Great Britain, Mr. IRVING was left free to share in the general military spirit that the capture of Washington, and the threatenings of the enemy to attack New York, awakened in all classes of the community. His services were tendered to Governor Tompkins, then commanding the district of New York, and he was received into his staff as an aid-de-camp. In this employment he was long engaged, and performed its duties with great zeal, not only in the immediate vicinity of his native city, but in several missions of importance to the interior of the state. The peace put an end to this occupation, and he returned to his commercial pursuits, in the furtherance of which, he visited England in the spring of 1815.

His previous visit to England had been made in winter, and he had made no other excursion but in the mail from London to Bath, at a season when the shortness of the day gave but little opportunity to view the country. The peculiar beauties of English scenery, therefore, broke upon him with unexpected brilliancy. Warwickshire, in which he first sojourned, is a district of no little rural beauty; in it are to be found some of the sites that recall the most exciting passages of English

history, or awaken the most pleasing literary recollections. Kenilworth and Warwick exhibit, the one the most splendid remains of baronial grandeur, the other the only perfect specimen of the feudal castle; Stratford on the Avon still possesses the house in which Shakspeare drew his first breath, and the picturesque Gothic church, in which his remains repose safely, under the protection of his poetic malediction; the Lucies still inhabit the manor-house, from whose park the deer was stolen that fixed the course of the great dramatist's existence. In more than one direction, episcopal cities raise high the turrets of their venerable minsters, and spread abroad their shadowy cloisters, while hedge row, and mead, and cultured field, tell of the successful toils of a rural life, more inviting, perhaps, to the romantic fancy, than agreeable to those who are compelled to pursue them. To one who had already celebrated the restless enterprise of the swarms of the New England hive, who spread like locusts over the wilderness, destroying every tree, and laying waste every germ of natural beauty, the calm contrast afforded by the farmers of England, generations of whom are born in the same cottage, and entombed beneath the same yews, was a subject of agreeable study.

In the summer which followed his arrival, Mr. IRVING joined a friend in a tour through the valley of the Severn, in Gloucestershire, and Wales. The letters addressed by him at this period to his American friends would, if published, form the most interesting portions of his works, and exhibit, with greater freshness, descriptions of scenery and character, like the rich pictures that he afterwards embodied in the "Sketch Book" and "Bracebridge Hall."

Mr. IRVING's literary career might have now been considered at an end; his commercial connections appeared to promise him wealth, more than commensurate with his wishes. But the unhappy revolution in the business of New York, that followed the unexampled profits with which the first importations were attended, prostrated the mercantile house with which he was connected, along with many of the most respectable, and even opulent merchants of the United States. This blow, however painful at the time, had the happy effect of restoring him to the world of literature. He prepared his "Sketch Book," and took measures to have it simultaneously published in London and America. Its success was complete. His own countrymen hailed with joy, the renewal of the exertions in which they had before delighted, and the English nation joined to applaud the author, who, without abandoning his just national pride, was yet sensible to those feelings in which Englishmen glory, and exhibited the honest exulta-

tion of a descendant, in the honors of the mighty names which have embellished the literary annals of Great Britain.

The "Sketch Book" was admired, and its author sought for; the aristocratic circles of the British metropolis received with open arms the transatlantic writer; and names of no small note in modern literature did not disdain to be ranked on the list of his imitators. He may justly pride himself on having pointed out a new track to a host of aspirants, and to have, himself, surpassed all who followed him in it. Works upon a similar plan were eagerly asked from him; their appearance, at no distant intervals, increased his fame, and soon left him no cause to regret the prostration of his commercial hopes.

The honors of Mr. IRVING were not limited to the climes, extensive though they be, in which the English tongue is spoken. Translations were made of his tales into most of the languages of the continent, and when he subsequently visited France, Germany, and Spain, he found himself received with the honors due to a national favorite. In the last named kingdom, he undertook the task of giving to his country and to Europe, the history of the life of that hero, who, in the words of his epitaph, gave a new world to Castile and Leon, but who may be said, with more justice, to have opened to the oppressed of every clime a secure and safe refuge, a field, in which the principles of freedom might be safely cultivated. This enterprise was not wanting in boldness, as it placed him in immediate comparison with one of the most celebrated among British historians; but it was eminently successful, as was its interesting abridgment. These are destined, the one to be the first in every collection of American history, the other to be the earliest study of American youth. His tour in Spain led him to the halls of the Alhambra, where he was delayed by the exciting visions they called up, of the chivalrous times when the haughty Castilian, and the gallant Arab, held their last contest for the possession of the fair realm of Grenada. Such associations have given birth to two successful works. These were succeeded by the Adventures of the Companions of Columbus, the brave partners of his perilous enterprise, we wish we could add, his imitators in humanity and benevolence.

On the return of Mr. IRVING to his native country, he was greeted with a degree of warmth rarely equalled. To many, he was endeared by the recollection of intimate and affectionate intercourse, while a new generation, that had sprung up in his absence, crowded with zeal to see and honor the pride of the literature of America—the author, who had first and successfully answered the reproachful question, "Who reads an American book?" Had he felt inclined to have en-

couraged the public enthusiasm, his tour throughout the United States might have been one continued ovation.

Soon after his return to his native land, Mr. IRVING traveled to a considerable extent, especially with a view of ascertaining the chief places of residence of the Aborigines of our country, of becoming acquainted with their customs and manners, and of examining the influence which neighboring civilization had exerted upon them. His subsequent works have been thus greatly enriched, and the pleasure and profit of his thousands of readers have been increased. He now sat down in earnest to his literary engagements, and in 1835 published his "Tour on the Prairies," "Legends of the Conquest of Spain," and "Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey." While these books considerably vary in subject and character, a very cursory examination will show the extreme care, the ceaseless industry, and the fine taste of their author. In the year following was published "Astoria," a work less known than some others of Mr. IRVING's productions, but full of deep and thrilling interest, and disclosing facts of which no man ought to be ignorant. In 1847 followed "Bonneville's Adventures in the Rocky Mountains," which we have read with great pleasure. And in 1839 appeared his tender and beautiful "Biography of Margaret Davidson."

Whether Mr. IRVING was himself fully contented, after so much traveling, to be confined to his own home, or whether he again desired to roam over the classic mountains and valleys of Europe, we are not informed, but it is certain that in the year 1842 his country needed his services and sent him as minister to the Court of Spain. We need not say how his talents, his learning, his fine taste, and his extensive knowledge of men and things operated to the public advantage during the four years he spent there, or of the joy with which he was received on his return in 1846. Our literary men have often been engaged in this honorable employment, and we believe always with advantage.

On his return from Europe, we could not have complained if our author had been disposed to rest after his toils, and resolved to spend his few remaining years in entire repose. But Mr. IRVING's rest is change of employment; and in the lovely mansion and grounds of Sunnyside he sat down to prepare his enchanting volume of "Goldsmith," and the well prepared history of "Mahomet and his Successors." These volumes incontrovertibly prove that the force of his mind has not abated, neither does the fountain of his information or imagery become exhausted. His works, like his character, have always a freshness which enables us to examine them with ever grow-

ing delight. "Few men," it has been well remarked, "are so identified personally with their literary productions, or have combined with admiration of their genius such a cordial, home-like welcome in the purest affections of their readers. We never become weary with the repetition of his familiar name; no caprice of fashion tempts us to enthrone a new idol in place of the ancient favorite; and even intellectual jealousies shrink back before the soft brilliancy of his reputation."

One work more, we are happy to learn that Mr. IRVING, though, alas, on the verge of seventy, has yet in preparation; and the subject is that of all others the one we could wish him to leave prominently before the eyes of his countrymen, as the result of his reading, his observation, his rich acquisitions of wisdom. It is meet that around Washington, the man of the age, the father of his country, the bays of IRVING's honors should be thrown. It will be no small privilege to our sons and our daughters to have the universal friend of man, presented to their view by the most distinguished writer which our country has produced. While we are anxious to read the book, we are even more desirous that it should have the last touch of beauty which taste can give. What is to last forever should be as perfect as possible. Whenever WASHINGTON IRVING shall leave us, it will, as in the case of George Washington, inflict a pang on every heart.

We have already seen that Mr. IRVING, much as he loves the shade, is no recluse. At all proper seasons he has mingled with society, and so has compelled us to admire his personal character, and blend our sympathies in common with his. He has never, sycophant like, courted the applauses of men, but popularity has followed his every movement in life. He has never shown himself the political partizan, but pursued a course which has compelled the admiration of every observer of his conduct. He has always proved himself the well educated gentleman, giving brilliancy to every circle in which he has mingled, but never seeming to feel that he was the sun of the system. His intercourse is always dignified, but he never compels his friends to feel their inferiority. May Heaven long spare him to us, for that will be a dark day when the eclipse of such a luminary shall be announced.

The portrait of Mr. IRVING which embellishes the "Gallery," it will be seen, was taken in the prime of his life, and shows intellect blended with dignity and cheerfulness. The lapse of years has added, since he sat to the artist for our likeness, furrows on his brow, and given him other signs of decay, but he yet sustains a reputation of elastic vigor which demonstrates the soundness of its elements, and which shall live forever. Even at the dawn of American literature,

he was universally acknowledged to possess those enchantments of style which can only proceed from the hand of a master; his genius still captivates all hearts, and contributes to add polish to the education happily becoming universal among us. The present race of our young men have shown their wisdom in honoring the man who improved the intellect and softened the manners of their fathers; and their children, for generations yet to come, will joyfully concede his ascendency over them. This enduring popularity could not spring from merely accidental causes, but proceeds from qualities which ensure a permanent fame. "If a foretaste of literary immortality is desirable on earth, we may congratulate Mr. IRVING on the possession of one of its most significant symbols, in the unfading brilliancy of his reputation for little less than half a century."

# WILLIAM WHITE, D. D.

It is given to few men to leave behind them a reputation more honorable than that of the subject of this memoir.

His father, Col. Thomas White, a native of London, who came to Maryland in early youth and there engaged in successful practice as a lawyer, was a man of sound judgment and sterling integrity. He was twice married, first to a daughter of Colonel Edward Hall, of Baltimore county, and secondly to Mrs. Esther Newman, a lady born in New Jersey, and whose maiden name was Hewlings. By this lady, whom Col. White married shortly after his removal to Philadelphia, he had two children; Mary, who married Robert Morris, the American financier, and William, the subject of this memoir, who was born at Philadelphia on the 24th of March, 1747, O. S., answering to April 4th, 1748, N. S. To the pious character of his mother, the Bishop bears his grateful testimony, and says, "My earliest impressions of religion were the fruit of her instruction."

At the age of seven years he was transferred from the school of a mistress to the English school of the new college, of which his father had been a trustee from its origin. Mr. Ebenezer Kinnersley, who had aided his friend Dr. Franklin, in his electrical experiments, was the head master of this school. When ten years old he was advanced to the Latin school, under Mr. Paul Jackson, a man of genius and classical attainments; and at the age of fourteen, he entered the collegiate department.

At this early period of his life, his thoughts were directed to the Christian ministry. In one of his private letters he says, "It may be recorded with truth, but let it be with humility and sorrow for innumerable failures, and for having fallen far short of what was due to the advantages of early years, that there is not recollected any portion of my life, during which I was altogether regardless of the obligations of religion, or neglected prayer. But in the middle of my sixteenth year,

there occurred some circumstances, particularly the decease of an amiable young lady, of my own age, but in whom I had not felt any farther interest than as an acquaintance of my sister. This event gave my mind a tendency to religious exercises and inquiries, which were promoted by its being understood that a visit was expected from the Rev. George Whitefield. His coming caused religion to be more than commonly a subject of conversation; and this added to the existing tendency of my mind." Whitefield, at this period (1763) was in impaired health, his naturally slender person had become corpulent, and his rare powers of utterance were affected by these causes; yet even under such great disadvantages "his force of emphasis and the melodies of his tones and cadences," says the Bishop, "exceeded what I had ever witnessed in any other person." Our youthful hearer was not among the field preacher's devotees, yet, the glow of eloquence with which Whitefield in "thoughts that breathe" gave life to sacred subjects, and, besides this, the earnest religious conversations of the day, must have produced powerful effects upon a mind then roused to serious thoughts upon religion. But with a calmness amid the prevailing agitations that was remarkable in a boy of only sixteen years, he did not find himself disposed to be a "convert." He states that he could not reconcile to his mind the vows and doings of Whitefield, as a clergyman of the established church—"his obligations, and his utter disregard of them." This aspect of things, new and strange to an ingenuous young man, most happily led him to deliberate investigation, and thus those principles of apostolic order were fixed in his mind on which he was destined, in the course of Providence, to lay the foundation of the now flourishing American Episcopal Church.

Having spent three years in college, he graduated, in 1765, at the age of eighteen, and soon began the study of theology.

In October, 1770, he embarked for Europe, with the usual letters to Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London, in which diocese the Protestant Episcopal churches of British America were considered to be, before the Revolution. The candidate was examined by the Bishop's chaplain, and, with many others, was ordained a deacon, under letters demissory, by Dr. Young, the Bishop of Norwich, in the Royal chapel, of which the Bishop of London was the Dean.

After this he remained eighteen months in England, where, in the society of some valued relatives at Twickenham, and in occasional journeys, he improved himself in useful learning, laid up rich materials for reflection, and cultivated the acquaintance of the wise and good. Alluding to these journeys, he speaks particularly of his visit to Lan-

cashire and Derbyshire, of his tour to Bath and to the University of Oxford; of his interview with Dr. Kennicott, from whom he received a copy of his Hebrew collations; of the preaching of Dr. Robert Lowth, afterwards Bishop of London; of his conversing with Goldsmith on the state of the peasantry depicted in the Deserted Village; and of his introduction to Dr. Samuel Johnson, with whom he had occasional conversations, and whom he saw occupied in preparing a new edition of his Dictionary. In April, 1772, he was admitted to priest's orders; in June, he embarked for America; and in September, arrived at Philadelphia, where he was soon settled as an assistant minister in the parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's.

During the long period of sixty-four years, he labored in the cause of piety and learning, not only in the institutions peculiar to his church, but in all the prominent institutions of Philadelphia—for sixty-three years a Trustee of the University; the President of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, the first established in the United States; the President of the Dispensary, from its origin in 1784; of the Prison Society from its revival in 1787; of the Society for the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Society for the Blind. With many other institutions he was connected as manager or member; and before the birth of most of his later coadjutors in these public charities, he laid the corner stones of their edifices, and established the principles of their perpetuity and success.

Well read in the history of England, and adopting those principles which entered into its constitution from the Saxon times, he thought, felt and acted with our revolutionary patriots, very many of whom were his associates and friends. "When my countrymen," said he, "had chosen the dreadful measure of resistance, it was also the dictate of my conscience to take what seemed the right side." He entered fully into the subject as a decided Christian patriot. His brethren in the assistant ministry of the parish preached animating sermons before battalions of soldiery; but this he refused to do, alleging that he did not think it right to make his ministry "instrumental to the war," or, as he said, "to beat the ecclesiastical drum." With all the other clergy of the Church of England, he used the prayer for the king, until the Sunday following the Declaration of Independence, soon after which he took the oath of allegiance to the United States.

The disquietudes occasioned by the war induced him, in September, 1777, to leave Philadelphia, then occupied by British troops, and to repair with his family to the house of Mr. Aquila Hall, in Harford county, Maryland, who had married his half-sister. While there, he received official notice that congress, who had fled to York in Pennsyl-

vania, had chosen him one of their chaplains. Consistent in his principles, he at once accepted the appointment and performed the stated duties of the chaplaincy. He continued to act as chaplain to congress until the removal of the seat of the general government to New York. When congress returned to Philadelphia, after the adoption of the present constitution, he was again chosen one of the chaplains, and continued as such until 1801, when the government was removed to Washington City.

A dark cloud hung over the Church of England in America at this crisis. In Pennsylvania, the settled clergy of the province, exclusive of the city, had at no time exceeded six in number, and all these relied chiefly for their support on stipends received from England. The war led some of them to leave the country, some died, and Mr. WHITE was soon left the only Episcopal clergyman in the state.

The rectorship of the parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's, after a time, was declared by the vestry to be vacant; and they at once unanimously elected Mr. WHITE to the office. In the spring of 1783, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania, being the first to receive the honor from that body.

In August 1782, Mr. WHITE despairing of a prompt acknowledgment of our independence, and seeing the Episcopal ministry nearly extinct, had written and published a small pamphlet, called "The case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States considered." It was issued without the author's name; but its pure spirit and its noble bearing proved it the production of a superior mind. It depicted with a faithful pencil the entire desolation which awaited a rapidly declining church, and pressed the obligation of adopting speedy and decisive measures, to perpetuate her ministry and worship. With this view, it proposed the establishment of an Episcopal Church in the United States, to be divided into districts, each district to have not only clerical but LAY delegates, and all the districts to be represented in a continental convention of the church. The proposed districts being thus constituted, "they should elect a clergyman their permanent president, who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be appointed by the body, might exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, particularly that of admitting to the ministry." The convention was, however, to declare in favor of Episcopacy, and profess a determination to procure the apostolical succession as soon as it could conveniently be had.

This proposed deviation from the ancient apostolic practice, was startling to all those who held that the office of bishops was essential to the existence of the church. But when numerous Episcopal con-

gregations who scattered, "having no shepherd," when many of the churches had been closed for years, when the war prevented the filling of vacancies, when these vacancies were daily multiplying by deaths or by removal, and when there were but few Episcopal pulpits in the whole country from which the gospel sound was heard, it was indeed a time of peculiar emergency. The prospects of churchmen in America were veiled in the deepest gloom. It was the summer of the year 1783. The mother country had not yet recognized our national independence. It was the opinion of judicious persons that she might perhaps lay down her weapons, but not yield her claims. And in this exigency of the case, the author of the pamphlet appealed to the high authority of Hooker, Hoadly, Usher and Cranmer; and suggested yielding to a temporary deviation from the ancient practice rather than the abandonment of *every* ordinance of positive and divine appointment. He argued against any union of church and state. And although James I. might teach IN ENGLAND, "No bishop, no king; and no king, no bishop," IN THE UNITED STATES, just rising in the freshness and vigor of their independence, Episcopacy by no means seemed to depend upon the *will*, no, nor on the *existence* of a monarch, but might, as has actually proved to be the case, flourish at least *as well without* as *with* the patronage of government.

The whole subject, however, in a few months assumed a form that met the hopes, and responded to the prayers of many. Our independence was acknowledged by Great Britain in September, 1783. The organization of the church very soon commenced. The first step taken was an invitation from the vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in November, 1783, to the vestry of St. Paul's. Deputies met on the 29th of March, 1784, at Dr. WHITE'S house, who invited a convention of delegates from all the churches in the state, which met on the 24th of the following May, at Christ Church, Philadelphia. In a few days their proceedings were laid before a meeting in New Jersey, which was followed by a meeting in New York; and thence resulted the call of the first General Convention, which was held at Philadelphia in September and October, 1785.

At this first General Convention, Dr. WHITE presided. A committee was appointed to draft and report a constitution, of which committee he was a member. The instrument was written by his hand. His thorough knowledge of his subject enabled him to meet the views and wishes of all parties. The constitution was adopted, and during the lapse of nearly seventy years it has united in a holy bond the once scattered members of the Episcopal communion. Certain alterations

were made in the Book of Common Prayer, and it was resolved to address the Archbishops and Bishops of England, asking for the consecration of Bishops elect from America.

The clergy of Connecticut, acting apart, had already (1785) succeeded in obtaining a bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury; consecrated, however, not by English bishops, but by the bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Yet this did not meet the existing want; and there was a general and decided wish that the proposed bishops should, by all means, be consecrated in ENGLAND. There were also, both at home and abroad, not a few who doubted whether this consecration by the Scotch bishops was valid. Among these was the celebrated Granville Sharp, the grandson of Archbishop Sharp, whose deep interest in the American Episcopacy appears from his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Franklin.

The address of the General Convention of 1785, was handed to the Archbishop of Canterbury by our foreign minister, John Adams, who used his influence, on many occasions, to facilitate the measure proposed.

The history of the times exhibits numerous and afflictive embarrassments arising from the want of resident bishops. Applications from America were made again and again; and in England the measure found warm advocates in many, especially in Archbishop Secker. But jealousy on the part of the colonies, in regard not only to the office but the name of bishop, and prudential considerations on the part of the British crown, presented for a long time insuperable barriers. The only dependence for a supply of clergy was on emigration, or on candidates sent to the Bishop of London for their orders. The revolution in the colonies created disabilities even on his part. And after our civil independence had been recognized, new difficulties were suggested; so that when certain candidates applied soon after the peace of 1783, they could not, as citizens of a free country, take the oaths of allegiance required at ordination. The candidates turned their thoughts to the Episcopal Church of Denmark, and soon received through our minister, Mr. Adams, favorable answers to inquiries which he had proposed on their behalf. Mr. Adams had conferred on the subject with M. de St. Saphorin, the Danish minister, who wrote to the King's foreign secretary, the Count de Rosencrone; and the result was an official communication to our government, transmitted to the president of Congress. But an act of Parliament, passed in 1786, and the proceedings of Churchmen in America, especially their address, soon rendered it unnecessary to accept the offer, so very promptly and liberally made by the theological faculty and the government of Denmark.

In the spring of 1786, a favorable reply to the address was received from England, signed by the two Archbishops and eighteen of the twenty-four bishops of the established church. General Conventions on the subject met in June and October. The Rev. Dr. Provost of New York, Dr. WHITE of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Griffith of Virginia, were duly chosen by their respective conventions to proceed to England for the Episcopate. The latter, from some domestic cause, was unable to proceed. The others soon embarked, and in eighteen days landed at Falmouth. Mr. Adams presented them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. John Moore, by whom, assisted by Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York, and Bishops Moss and Hinchliffe, they were consecrated on the 4th of February, 1787, in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth. On Easter-day, April 7th, 1787, they were again in the United States, and soon entered on the active duties of their office. In the year 1790, Dr. Madison of Virginia, was also consecrated at Lambeth. During his life, nearly all the succeeding bishops of the United States were consecrated by Bishop WHITE.

Episcopacy was now established in the United States under the most advantageous circumstances. It attracted the attention of all other communions, and especially conciliated the regards of certain members of the Methodist society. One of their spiritual fathers, the Rev. Dr. Coke, whom Mr. Wesley, to use his own words, invested, "as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority," was not satisfied with this wide deviation from apostolic practice, and wrote to Bishop WHITE, explicitly proposing that the American bishops should re-ordain all the preachers of the Methodist society, admit Mr. Asbury and himself to the Episcopate, and virtually effect a re-union of Methodists and Episcopalians. Bishop WHITE, from the beginning, saw that the measure, as proposed, must fail; but Bishop Madison was very favorable to the scheme. At a meeting of the General Convention in 1792, he introduced a motion upon the subject, into the House of Bishops, and led them to bring it before the house of Clerical and Lay delegates. But the whole project was then laid aside and has never since been seriously agitated.

The advanced age of Bishop WHITE and the increasing labors of his office in a diocese so extensive as Pennsylvania, led him in the year 1826, to propose, at a special convention of the diocese, the election of an assistant bishop. At that convention no election was held; the vote of the clergy being equally divided between the two candidates presented. At the annual convention in 1827, held at Harrisburg,

the Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, of the diocese of New York, was chosen to the office, which he filled during the remainder of Bishop WHITE's life and then succeeded him in the Episcopate.

In 1832 Bishop WHITE published, over the signature of "A citizen of Philadelphia," an address to the councils of Philadelphia upon the subject of the college for which Mr. Girard had made provision in his will. According to that instrument the clergy of all denominations were excluded from the institution, and were prohibited from entering its enclosure. The Bishop, in common with other good men of different denominations, feared that all religious instruction would likewise be excluded, and therefore urged the city authorities to refuse the acceptance of the legacy. Experience has shown that his fears were groundless, though the injurious prohibition, so awfully indicative of persecution, is still in force.

In the spring of 1835, missionaries were sent to China by the Episcopal Church, and the task of preparing instructions for their guidance in that country was entrusted to Bishop WHITE. It was well discharged, and the admirable paper prepared by him showed that the vigor of his mind was entirely unimpaired at the age of eighty-eight.

The close of his useful life was now at hand. Blessed with an unusually vigorous constitution, he had enjoyed a degree of health seldom equalled. In the month of June, 1836, he experienced a severe attack of illness, but had recovered sufficiently to preach on the last Sunday of that month at St. Peter's Church, what proved to be his last sermon. The energy with which he delivered it, and the strength of his voice, were remarked at the time. On the second of July, on rising from his bed in the night, he had a severe fall, owing to no cause that could be ascertained other than weakness. A gradual decay of his bodily powers followed, and on the 17th of July, 1836, he closed his useful life, without pain, and in perfect consciousness that the time of his departure had come. He had witnessed the establishment of his church as a distinct branch of the church universal, had seen its growth from small and feeble beginnings, and left it peaceful and prosperous. Twenty-four bishops of that communion had received their consecration at his hands. He died on the eve of the consecration of the Rev. Mr. McCroskey, as Bishop of Michigan, at which it had been proposed that Bishop WHITE was to preach and to preside. The prejudice, which had at first checked the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he lived to see nearly extinct, and it must be said in his praise that this happy state of feeling was greatly owing to his moderation, to his excellence in every duty, public and private, and

to his benevolent and truly catholic spirit. He died without an enemy, and the large train of mourners, including the clergy and laymen of all denominations, which accompanied his remains to the tomb, testified how greatly his loss was felt. His body was interred in the family vault adjoining Christ Church, on the 20th of July, 1836. Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, his successor, preached an appropriate sermon upon the occasion.

All the amiable virtues which can adorn the character of a Christian, and especially a Christian minister, shone brightly in his character. Firm in the maintenance of what he held to be the truth, he offended no one by violence, or want of charity in the expression of his opinions. Courteous and affable, he was always accessible to the young, in whose society he took great pleasure. No clergyman in Philadelphia has, probably, united more couples in marriage than Bishop WHITE To be married by him was always considered an honor. Of some families, he saw five generations in the church.

His conduct as a husband, father and friend was all that could be desired. As a citizen, he took a lively interest in the welfare of his country. His course during the Revolution has been already detailed. He felt the exercise of the right of suffrage to be a duty, and never omitted giving his vote when not prevented by ill health or absence.

His writings were numerous. The catalogue of them in the memoir of his life, prepared by the Rev. Dr. Bird Wilson, occupies eleven octavo pages. The most prominent are the "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," in one octavo volume; the "Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians," in two octavo volumes; the "Lectures on the Catechism," and the "Commentaries on the Ordination Services," each in a single octavo volume. The style of his writings was plain and clear, without useless ornament, and based upon that of the writers of the days of Queen Anne.

The accompanying portrait presents a faithful likeness of the good Bishop in his latter years. He never appeared in the streets without attracting attention and respect. Tall, and slightly bent by the advance of years, with flowing white locks and countenance full of benevolence, he walked among us, connecting us with the era of the Revolution, one of the last of the men of that day. At the age of eighty-nine he "was gathered with his fathers," and finished a course not more remarkable for its length than for the virtues and Christian graces which adorned it.

Such a man as Bishop WHITE never really dies. His memory is

yet precious in the hearts of thousands; not a few of whom in the Prayer Book Society and the Parish Libraries of the United States, and in the Episcopal Floating Church of his native city, have done very much to perpetuate his name; while by those institutions, though "being dead he yet speaketh." His spirit still acts in the hearts of multitudes, who heard from his lips the glad sound of salvation, or in their children, to whom they have transmitted the knowledge of it. The ramifications of the influence of such a man are almost infinite, as they, assuredly, are eternal. His religion had great power, which not only made him a blessing while on earth, but constitutes the blessings diffused by him immortal. Monuments of his worth and labors cover our country; nay, they are to be seen in far-off lands; and from other nations, as well as our own, shall praises long ascend to Heaven that God qualified him and sent him forth to labor in his vineyard; while in Heaven itself shall he hear the songs of immortality presented to the Holy Spirit, who crowned those labors with abundant success; and while he feels the high honor thus conferred on him, he shall humbly cast his crown at the feet of his adorable Lord.

# JOHN MARSHALL, LL. D.

JOHN MARSHALL, the sketch of whose life now claims our attention, was born in Fauquier county, in the state of Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1755. His father was Thomas Marshall of the same state, who served with great distinction in the revolutionary war, as a colonel in the line of the continental army. Colonel Marshall was a planter of a very small fortune, and had received but a narrow education. These deficiencies, however, were amply supplied by the gifts of nature. His talents were of a high order, and he cultivated them with great diligence and perseverance, so that he maintained throughout his whole life, among associates of no mean character, the reputation of being a man of extraordinary ability. No better proof need be adduced to justify this opinion, than the fact that he possessed the unbounded confidence, admiration, and reverence of all his children, at the period of life when they were fully able to appreciate his worth and compare him with other men of known eminence. There are those yet living, who have often listened with delight to the praises bestowed on him by filial affection; and have heard the declaration emphatically repeated from the lips of one of his most gifted sons, that his father was an abler man than any of his children. Such praise from such a source is beyond measure precious. It warms while it elevates. It is a tribute of gratitude to the memory of a parent after death has put the last seal upon his character, and at a distance of time, when sorrow has ceased its utterance, and left behind it the power calmly to contemplate his excellence.

Colonel Marshall had fifteen children, some of whom are now living; and it has long been a matter of public fame, that all the children, females as well as males, possessed superior intellectual endowments. JOHN was the eldest child; and was of course the first to engage the solicitude of his father. In the local position of

the family, at that time almost upon the frontier settlements of the country, (for Fauquier was a frontier county,) it was of course, that the early education of all the children should devolve upon its head. Colonel Marshall superintended the studies of his eldest son, and gave him a decided taste for English literature, and especially for history and poetry. At the age of twelve he had transcribed Pope's Essay on Man, and also some of his moral essays. The love of poetry, thus awakened in his warm and vigorous mind, never ceased to exert a commanding influence over it. He became enamored of the classical writers of the old school, and was instructed by their solid sense, and their beautiful imagery. In the enthusiasm of youth, he often indulged himself in poetical compositions, and freely gave up his hours of leisure to those delicious dreamings of the muse, which (say what we may) constitute some of the purest sources of pleasure in the gay scenes of life, and some of the sweetest consolations in adversity and affliction, throughout every subsequent period of it. It is well known, that he continued to cultivate this his favorite study, and to read with intense interest the gay as well as the loftier productions of the divine art. One of the best recommendations of the taste for poetry in early life is, that it does not die with youth; but affords to maturer years an invigorating energy, and to old age a serene and welcome employment, always within reach, and always coming with a fresh charm. Its gentle influence is then like that so happily treated by Gray. The lover of the muses may truly say,

> I feel the gales that round ye blow
> A momentary bliss bestow,
> As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
> My weary soul they seem to soothe,
> And redolent of joy and youth
> To breathe a second spring.

The contrast, was always somewhat striking between that close reasoning, which almost rejected the aid of ornament, in the juridical labors of the Chief Justice, and that generous taste, which devoted itself with equal delight to the works of fiction and song. Yet the union has been far less uncommon than slight observers are apt to imagine. Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield had an ardent thirst for general literature, and each of them was a cultivator, if not a devotee, of the lighter productions of the imagination.

There being at that time no grammar school in the part of the country where Colonel Marshall resided, his son was sent, at the age of fourteen, about a hundred miles from home, and placed under the

tuition of a Mr. Campbell, a clergyman of great respectability. He remained with him a year, and then returned home, and was put under the care of a Scotch gentleman, who was just introduced into the parish as pastor; and resided in his father's family. He pursued his classical studies under this gentleman's direction, while he remained in the family, which was about a year; and at the termination of it, he had commenced reading Horace and Livy. His subsequent mastery of the classics was the result of his own efforts, without any other aid than his grammar and dictionary. He never had the benefit of an education at any college, and his attainments in learning were cherished by the solitary vigils of his own genius. His father, however, continued to superintend his English education, to cherish his love of knowledge, to give a solid cast to his acquirements, and to store his mind with the most valuable materials. He was not merely a watchful parent, but an instructive and affectionate friend, and soon became the most constant, as he was at the time almost the only intelligent, companion of his son. The time not devoted to his society was passed in hardy athletic exercises, and probably to this circumstance was owing that robust constitution which seemed fresh and firm in old age.

About the time when young MARSHALL entered his eighteenth year, the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies began to assume a portentous aspect, and engaged, and indeed absorbed, the attention of all the colonists, whether they were young, or old, in private and secluded life, or in political and public bodies. He entered into it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a youth, full of love for his country and liberty, and deeply sensible of its rights and its wrongs. He devoted much time to acquiring the first rudiments of military exercise in a voluntary independent company, composed of gentlemen of the county; to training a militia company in the neighborhood, and to reading the political essays of the day. For these animating pursuits, the preludes of public resistance, he was quite content to relinquish the classics, and the less inviting, but with reference to his future destiny, the more profitable Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

In the summer of 1775, he received an appointment as first lieutenant in a company of minute-men enrolled for actual service, who were assembled in battalion on the first of the ensuing September. In a few days they were ordered to march into the lower country, for the purpose of defending it against a small regular and predatory force commanded by Lord Dunmore. They constituted part of the

troops destined for the relief of Norfolk; and Lieutenant MARSHALL was engaged in the battle of the Great Bridge, where the British troops, under Lord Dunmore, were repulsed with great gallantry The way being thus opened by the retreat of the British, he marched with the provincials to Norfolk, and was present when that city was set on fire by a detachment from the British ships then lying in the river.

In July, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the eleventh Virginia regiment on the continental establishment; and in the course of the succeeding winter, he marched to the north, where, in May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. He was subsequently engaged in the skirmish at Iron Hill with the light infantry, and fought in the memorable battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

That part of the Virginia line, which was not ordered to Charleston (S. C.,) being in effect dissolved by the expiration of the term of enlistment of the soldiers, the officers (among whom was Captain MARSHALL) were, in the winter of 1779-80, directed to return home, in order to take charge of such men as the state legislature should raise for them. It was during this season of inaction that he availed himself of the opportunity of attending a course of law lectures given by Mr. Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state; and a course of lectures on natural philosophy, given by Mr. Madison, president of William and Mary College in Virginia. He left this college in the summer vacation of 1780, and obtained a license to practice law. In October he returned to the army, and continued in service until the termination of Arnold's invasion. After this period, and before the invasion of Phillips, in February, 1781, there being a redundancy of officers in the Virginia line, he resigned his commission.

During the invasion of Virginia, the courts of law were suspended, and were not reöpened until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis Immediately after that event Mr. MARSHALL commenced the practice of law, and soon rose into distinction at the bar.

In the spring of 1782, he was elected a member of the state legislature, and in the autumn of the same year a member of the executive council. In January, 1783, he married Miss Ambler, the daughter of a gentleman who was then treasurer of the state, and to whom he had become attached before he left the army This lady lived for nearly fifty years after her marriage, to partake and to enjoy the distinguished honors of her husband. In 1784, he resigned his seat at the council board, in order to return to the bar;

and he was immediately afterwards again elected a member of the legislature for the county of Fauquier, of which he was then only nominally an inhabitant, his actual residence being at Richmond. In 1787 he was elected a member from the county of Henrico; and though at that time earnestly engaged in the duties of his profession, he embarked largely in the political questions which then agitated the state, and indeed the whole confederacy.

Every person at all read in our domestic history must recollect the dangers and difficulties of those days. The termination of the revolutionary war left the country impoverished and exhausted by its expenditures, and the national finances at a low state of depression. The powers of congress under the confederation, which, even during the war, were often prostrated by the neglect of a single state to enforce them, became in the ensuing peace utterly relaxed and inefficient.

Credit, private as well as public, was destroyed. Agriculture and commerce were crippled. The delicate relation of debtor and creditor became daily more and more embarrassed and embarrassing; and, as is usual upon such occasions, every sort of expedient was resorted to by popular leaders, as well as by men of desperate fortunes, to inflame the public mind, and to bring into odium those who labored to preserve the public faith, and to establish a more energetic government. The whole country was soon divided into two great parties, the one of which endeavored to put an end to the public evils by the establishment of a government over the Union, which should be adequate to all its exigencies, and act directly on the people; the other was devoted to state authority, jealous of all federal influence, and determined at every hazard to resist its increase.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr. MARSHALL could not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of such scenes. As little doubt could there be of the part he would take in such a contest. He was at once arrayed on the side of Washington and Madison. In Virginia, as every where else, the principal topics of the day were paper money, the collection of taxes, the preservation of public faith, and the administration of civil justice. The parties were nearly equally divided upon all these topics; and the contest concerning them was continually renewed. In such a state of things, every victory was but a temporary and questionable triumph, and every defeat still left enough of hope to excite to new and strenuous exertions. The affairs, too, of the confederacy were then at a crisis. The question of the continuance of the Union, or a separation of the

states, was freely discussed; and, what is almost startling now to repeat, either side of it was maintained without reproach. Mr. Madison was at this time, and had been for two or three years, a member of the house of delegates, and was in fact the author of the resolution for the general convention at Philadelphia to revise the confederation. He was at all times the enlightened advocate of union, and of an efficient federal government, and he received on all occasions the steady support of Mr. MARSHALL. Many have witnessed, with no ordinary emotions, the pleasure with which both of these gentlemen looked back upon their coöperation at that period, and the sentiments of profound respect with which they habitually regarded each other.

Both of them were members of the convention subsequently called in Virginia for the ratification of the federal constitution. This instrument, having come forth under the auspices of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution, was at first favorably received in Virginia, but it soon encountered decided hostility. Its defence was uniformly and most powerfully maintained there by Mr. MARSHALL.

The debates of the Virginia convention are in print. But we have been assured by the highest authority, that the printed volume affords but a very feeble and faint sketch of the actual debates on that occasion, or of the vigor with which every attack was urged, and every onset repelled, against the constitution. The best talents of the state were engaged in the controversy. The principal debates were conducted by Patrick Henry and James Madison, as leaders. But on three great occasions, namely, the debates on the power of taxation, the power over the militia, and the power of the judiciary, Mr. MARSHALL gave free scope to his genius, and argued with a most commanding ability.

It is very difficult for the present generation to conceive the magnitude of the dangers to which we were then exposed, or to realize the extent of the obstacles which were opposed to the adoption of the constitution. Notwithstanding all the sufferings of the people, the acknowledged imbecility of the government, and the almost desperate state of our public affairs, there were men of high character, and patriots too, who clung to the old confederation with an enthusiastic attachment, and saw in the grant of any new powers, indeed of any powers, to a national government, nothing but oppression and tyranny, — slavery of the people and destruction of the state governments on the one hand, and universal despotism

and overwhelming taxation on the other. Time, the great umpire and final judge of these questions, has indeed now abundantly shown how vain were the fears, and how unsound the principles of the opponents of the constitution. The prophecies of its friends have been abundantly fulfilled in the growth and solid prosperity of their country; far, indeed, beyond their most sanguine expectations. But our gratitude can never be too warm to those eminent men who stemmed the torrent of public prejudice, and with a wisdom and prudence, almost surpassing human power, laid the foundations of that government, which saved us at the hour when we were ready to perish. After twenty-five days of ardent and eloquent discussion, to which justice never has been, and never can now be done, (during which nine states adopted the constitution,) the question was carried in its favor in the convention of Virginia by a majority of ten votes only.

The adoption of the constitution of the United States having been thus secured, Mr. MARSHALL immediately formed the determination to relinquish public life, and to devote himself to the arduous duties of his profession.

A man of his eminence could, however, with very great difficulty adhere rigidly to his original resolve. The state legislature having, in December, 1788, passed an act allowing a representative to the city of Richmond, Mr. MARSHALL was almost unanimously invited to become a candidate. With considerable reluctance he yielded to the public wishes, being principally influenced in his acceptance of the station, by the increasing hostility manifested in the state against the national government, and his own anxious desire to give the latter his decided and public support. He continued in the legislature, as a representative of Richmond, for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. During this period every important measure of the national government was discussed in the state legislature with great freedom, and no inconsiderable acrimony. On these occasions Mr. MARSHALL vindicated the national government with a manly and zealous independence.

After the termination of the session of the legislature, in 1791, Mr. MARSHALL voluntarily retired. But the events which soon afterwards occurred in Europe, and extended a most awakening influence to America, did not long permit him to devote himself to professional pursuits. The French revolution, in its early dawn, was hailed with universal enthusiasm in America. In its progress for a considerable period, it continued to maintain among us an

almost unanimous approbation. Many causes conduced to this result. Our partiality for France, from a grateful recollection of her services in our own revolutionary contest, was ardent and undisguised. It was heightened by the consideration, that she was herself now engaged in a struggle for liberty, and was endeavoring to shake off oppressions under which she had been groaning for centuries. The monarchs in Europe were combined in a mighty league for the suppression of this new and alarming insurrection against the claims of legitimacy. It was not difficult to foresee, that if they were successful in this enterprise, we ourselves had but a questionable security for our own independence. It would be natural for them, after having completed their European conquests, to cast their eyes to the origin of the evil, and to feel that their dynasties were not quite safe, (even though the Atlantic rolled between us and them,) while a living example of liberty, so seductive and so striking, remained in the western hemisphere.

It may be truly said, that our government partook largely of the general interest, and did not hesitate to express it in a manner not incompatible with the strict performance of the duties of neutrality. Mr. MARSHALL was as warmly attached to the cause of France as any of his considerate countrymen.

After the death of Louis XVI., feelings of a different sort began to mix themselves, not only in the public councils, but in private life. Those, whose reflections reached beyond the events of the day, began to entertain fears, lest, in our enthusiasm for the cause of France, we might be plunged into war, and thus jeopard our own vital interests. The task of preserving neutrality was of itself sufficiently difficult when the mass of the people was put in motion by the cheering sounds of liberty and equality, which were wafted on every breeze across the Atlantic. The duty, however, was imperative; and the administration determined to perform it with the most guarded good faith.

The decided part taken by Mr. MARSHALL could not long remain unnoticed. He was attacked with great asperity in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and designated, by way of significant reproach, as the coadjutor and friend of Alexander Hamilton.

Against these attacks he defended himself with a zeal and ability proportioned to his own sincere devotion to the cause which he espoused.

At the spring election for the state legislature in the year 1795, Mr. MARSHALL was not a candidate; but he was nevertheless chosen

under somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the time of his withdrawing from the legislature, two opposing candidates had divided the city of Richmond; the one, his intimate friend, and holding the same political sentiments with himself; the other, a most zealous partisan of the opposition. Each election between these gentlemen, who were both popular, had been decided by a small majority, and the approaching contest was entirely doubtful. Mr. MARSHALL attended the polls at an early hour, and gave his vote for his friend. While at the polls, a gentleman demanded that a poll should be opened for Mr. MARSHALL. The latter was greatly surprised at the proposal, and unhesitatingly expressed his dissent; at the same time, he announced his willingness to become a candidate the next year. He retired from the polls, and immediately gave his attendance to the business of one of the courts, which was then in session. A poll was, however, opened for him in his absence by the gentleman who first suggested it, notwithstanding his positive refusal. The election was suspended for a few minutes; a consultation took place among the freeholders; they determined to support him; and in the evening he received the information of his election. A more honorable tribute to his merits could not have been paid; and his election was a most important and timely measure in favor of the administration.

It will be recollected, that the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay in 1794, was the subject of universal discussion at this period. No sooner was its ratification advised by the senate, than public meetings were called in all our principal cities, for the purpose of inducing the president to withhold his ratification, and if this object were not attained, then to prevent in congress the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry it into effect. The topics of animadversion were not confined to the expediency of the treaty in its principal provisions, but the bolder ground was assumed, that the negotiation of a commercial treaty by the executive was an unconstitutional act, and an infringement of the power given to congress to regulate commerce. Mr. MARSHALL took an active part in the discussions upon the treaty. Feeling, that the ratification of it was indispensable to the preservation of peace, that its main provisions were essentially beneficial to the United States, and comported with its true dignity and interests; he addressed himself with the most diligent attention to an examination of the nature and extent of all its provisions, and of all the objections urged against it. No state in the Union exhibited a more intense hostility to it than

Virginia, upon the points both of expediency and constitutionality; and in no state were the objections urged with more impassioned and unsparing earnestness. The task, therefore, of meeting and overthrowing them was of no ordinary magnitude, and required all the resources of the ablest mind. Mr. MARSHALL came to the task with a thorough mastery of every topic connected with it. At a public meeting of the citizens of Richmond he carried a series of resolutions, approving the conduct of the executive.

But a more difficult and delicate duty remained to be performed. It was easy to foresee that the controversy would soon find its way from the public forum into the legislative bodies; and would be there renewed with the bitter animosity of party spirit. Indeed, so unpopular was the treaty in Virginia, that Mr. MARSHALL's friends were exceedingly solicitous that he should avoid engaging in any debate in the legislature on the subject, as it would be a sacrifice of the remains of his well deserved popularity; and it might be even questioned if he could there deliver his sentiments without exposure to some rude attacks. His answer to all such suggestions was uniform; that he should not move any measure to excite a debate; but if the subject were brought forward by others, he should, at every hazard, vindicate the administration, and assert his own opinions. He was incapable of shrinking from a just expression of his own independence. The subject was soon introduced by his political opponents, and the constitutional objections were urged with triumphant confidence. That, particularly, which denied the constitutional right of the executive to conclude a commercial treaty, was selected and insisted on as a favorite and unanswerable position. The speech of Mr. MARSHALL on this occasion has been always represented as one of the noblest efforts of his genius. His vast powers of reasoning were employed with the most gratifying success. He demonstrated, not only from the words of the constitution, and the universal practice of nations, that a commercial treaty was within the constitutional powers of the executive, but that this opinion had been maintained and sanctioned by Mr. Jefferson, by the whole delegation of Virginia in congress, and by the leading members in the convention on both sides. His argument was decisive; the constitutional ground was abandoned; and the resolutions of the assembly were confined to a simple disapprobation of the treaty in point of expediency.

The constitutional objections were again urged in congress in the celebrated debate on the British treaty, in the spring of 1796; and

there finally assumed the mitigated shape of a right claimed on the part of congress to grant or withhold appropriations to carry treaties into effect. The higher ground, that commercial treaties were not, when ratified, the supreme law of the land, was abandoned; and the subsequent practice of the government has, without question, under every administration, conformed to the construction vindicated by Mr. MARSHALL. The fame of this admirable argument spread through the Union. Even with his political enemies, it enhanced the elevation of his character; and it brought him at once to the notice of some of the most eminent statesmen who then graced our public councils

After this period, President Washington invited Mr. MARSHALL to accept the office of attorney general; but he declined it, upon the ground of its interference with his lucrative practice in Virginia. He continued in the state legislature; but did not, from his other engagements, take an active part in the ordinary business. He confined his attention principally to those questions which involved the main interests of the country, and brought into discussion the policy and the principles of the national parties.

Upon the recall of Mr. Monroe as minister, from France, President Washington solicited Mr. MARSHALL to accept the appointment as his successor; but he respectfully declined, and General Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead.

Mr. MARSHALL was not, however, long permitted to act upon his own judgment and choice. The French government refused to receive General Pinckney, as minister from the United States; and the administration, being sincerely anxious to exhaust every measure of conciliation, not incompatible with the national dignity, for the preservation of peace, resorted to the extraordinary measure of sending a commission of three envoys. Within a year from the time of the first offer, Mr. Adams having succeeded to the presidency, appointed Mr. MARSHALL one of these envoys, in conjunction with General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry.

After some hesitation, Mr. MARSHALL accepted the appointment, and soon afterward embarked for Amsterdam. On his arrival at the Hague he met General Pinckney, and having received passports they proceeded to Paris. The mission was unsuccessful; the envoys were never accredited by the French government, and Mr. MARSHALL returned to America in the summer of 1798. Upon him principally devolved the duty of preparing the official despatches. They have been universally attributed to his pen, and are models of skilful

reasoning, forcible illustration, accurate detail, and urbane and dignified moderation. In the annals of our diplomacy there are no papers upon which an American can look back with more unmixed pride and pleasure.

Mr. MARSHALL, on his return home, found that he had sustained no loss by a diminution of professional business, and looked forward to a resumption of his labors with high hopes. He peremptorily refused for a considerable time to become a candidate for congress, and avowed his determination to remain at the bar. At this juncture he was invited by General Washington to pass a few days at Mount Vernon; and having accepted the invitation, he went there in company with Mr. Justice Washington, the nephew of General Washington, and a highly distinguished judge of the supreme court of the United States, whose death the public had afterwards sad occasion to lament.

What took place upon that occasion we happen to have the good fortune to know from an authentic source. General Washington did not for a moment disguise the object of his invitation; it was to urge upon Mr. MARSHALL and Mr. Washington the propriety of their becoming candidates for congress. Mr. Washington yielded to the wishes of his uncle without a struggle. But Mr. MARSHALL resisted on the ground of his situation, and the necessity of attending to his private affairs. The reply of General Washington to these suggestions will never be forgotten by those who heard it. It breathed the spirit of the loftiest virtue and patriotism. He said, that there were crises in national affairs which made it the duty of a citizen to forego his private for the public interest. He considered the country to be then in one of these. He detailed his opinions freely on the nature of the controversy with France, and expressed his conviction, that the best interests of America depended upon the character of the ensuing congress. The conversation was long, animated, and impressive; full of the deepest interest, and the most unreserved confidence. The exhortation of General Washington had its effect. Mr. MARSHALL yielded to his representations, and became a candidate, and was, after an ardent contest, elected, and took his seat in congress in December, 1799. While he was yet a candidate, he was offered a seat on the bench of the supreme court, then vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Iredell. Upon his declining it, President Adams appointed Mr. Justice Washington, who was thus prevented from becoming a member of congress.

The session of congress in the winter of 1799–1800 will for ever

be memorable in the annals of America. Men of the highest talents and most commanding influence in the Union were there assembled, and arrayed with all the hostility of party spirit, and all the zeal of conscious responsibility, against each other. Every important measure of the administration was subjected to the most scrutinizing criticism; and was vindicated with a warmth proportionate to the ability of the attack. Mr. MARSHALL took an active part in the debates, and distinguished himself in a manner which will not easily be forgotten.

In May, 1800, Mr. MARSHALL was, without the slightest personal communication, nominated by the president to the office of secretary of war, upon the dismissal of Mr. M'Henry. We believe that the first information received of it by Mr. MARSHALL was at the department itself, where he went to transact some business previous to his return to Virginia. He immediately wrote a letter, requesting the nomination to be withdrawn by the president. It was not; and his appointment was confirmed by the senate. The rupture between the president and Colonel Pickering, who was then secretary of state, soon afterwards occurred, and Mr. MARSHALL was appointed his successor. This was indeed an appointment in every view most honorable to his merits, and for which he was in the highest degree qualified.

On the 31st day of January, 1801, he became chief justice of the United States, and, as all know, till his death, continued to fill the office with increasing reputation and unsullied dignity.

Splendid, indeed, as was the judicial career of this eminent man, it is scarcely possible that the extent of his labors, the vigor of his intellect, or the untiring accuracy of his learning, should be duly estimated, except by the profession of which he was so great an ornament. Questions of law rarely assume a cast which introduces them to extensive public notice; and those, which require the highest faculties of mind to master and expound, are commonly so intricate and remote from the ordinary pursuits of life, that the generality of readers do not bring to the examination of them the knowledge necessary to comprehend them, or the curiosity which imparts a relish and flavor to them. For the most part, therefore, the reputation of judges is confined to the narrow limits which embrace the votaries of jurisprudence; and many of those exquisite judgments, which have cost days and nights of the most elaborate study, and for power of thought, beauty of illustration, variety of learning, and elegant demonstration, are justly numbered among the

highest reaches of the human mind, find no admiration beyond the ranks of lawyers, and live only in the dusty repositories of their oracles. The fame of the warrior is for ever imbodied in the history of his country, and is colored with the warm lights reflected back by the praise of many a distant age. The orator and the statesman live not merely in the recollections of their powerful eloquence, or the deep impressions made by them on the character of the generation in which they lived, but are brought forth for public approbation in political debates, in splendid volumes, in collegiate declamations, in the works of rhetoricians, in the school-books of boys, and in the elegant extracts of maturer life.

This is not the place to enter upon a minute survey of the official labors of Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL. However instructive or interesting such a course might be to the profession, the considerations already adverted to, sufficiently admonish us that it would not be very welcome to the mass of other readers. But there is one class of cases which ought not to be overlooked, because it comes home to the business and bosom of every citizen of this country, and is felt in every gradation of life, from the chief magistrate down to the inmate of the cottage. We allude to the grave discussions of constitutional law, which during his life-time attracted so much of the talents of the bar in the supreme court, and sometimes agitated the whole nation. If all others of the Chief Justice's juridical arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name.

There is in the discharge of this delicate and important duty, which is peculiar to our institutions, a moral grandeur and interest, which it is not easy to over-estimate either in a political or civil view. In no other country on earth are the acts of the legislature liable to be called in question, and even set aside, if they do not conform to the standard of the constitution. Even in England, where the principles of civil liberty are cherished with uncommon ardor, and private justice is administered with a pure and elevated independence, the acts of parliament are, by the very theory of the government, in a legal sense, omnipotent. They cannot be gainsaid or overruled. They form the law of the land, which controls the prerogative and even the descent of the crown itself, and may take away the life and property of the subject without trial and without appeal. The only security is in the moderation of parliament itself and representative responsibility. The case is far otherwise in America. The state and national constitutions form the *supreme law* of the land, and

the judges are sworn to maintain these charters of liberty, or rather these special delegations of power by the people, (who in our governments are alone the depositaries of supreme authority and sovereignty,) in their original vigor and true intendment. It matters not how popular a statute may be, or how commanding the majority by which it has been enacted; it must stand the test of the constitution, or it falls. The humblest citizen may question its constitutionality; and its final fate must be settled upon grave argument and debate by the judges of the land.

This topic is so copious, and of such everlasting consequence to the well-being of this republic, that it furnishes matter for volumes; but we must escape from it with the brief hints already suggested, and resume our previous subject.

Nor is this the mere theory of the constitution. It is a function which has been often performed; and not a few acts of state as well as of national legislation, have been brought to this severe scrutiny; and after the fullest consideration, some have been pronounced to be void, because they were unconstitutional. And these judgments have been acquiesced in, and obeyed, even when they were highly offensive to the pride and sovereignty of the state itself, or affected private and public interests to an incalculable extent. Such, in America, is the majesty of the law. Such is the homage of a free people to the institutions created by themselves.

The mightiest efforts of men have their limits, and the most useful life must come to a close. About the commencement of the year 1835, the health of Judge MARSHALL began to fail, nor can this be a matter of surprise when it is remembered that the labors of his life had brought him into the eightieth year of his age. He removed from Richmond to Philadelphia, in order to obtain the best medical aid; this, however, failed to accomplish his purpose, and on the sixth of July in that year he died, surrounded by three of his children. To the last moment he retained the faculties of his mind, and met his end with the fortitude of a philosopher and the resignation of a Christian. It is painful to add here that his eldest son,—a gentleman distinguished as a scholar, a lawyer, and a member of the Virginia legislature, and who was highly esteemed for his talents, his virtues, and his usefulness—was killed, by the fall of a chimney, at Baltimore, on his way to attend the death-bed of his father.

Judge MARSHALL was the object of universal respect and confidence, on account of his extraordinary talents, his unsuspected integrity, his exemplary private virtues, and his important public services, which

last were deemed by many of his countrymen as second only to those of Washington. As a judge, he was the most illustrious of his day in our country. Few men have ever held so important a judicial office as long; and no one, perhaps, ever more effectually stamped the decisions of his court with the impress of his own powerful mind. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, for the plainness of his dress, and for the kindness of his heart, as well as for the strength of his mind. No man ever bore public honors more meekly. He mingled with his neighbors and society as an ordinary citizen. He took a lively interest in objects of benevolence and human improvement; was a firm believer in the Christian religion, a regular attendant at the Episcopal church, one of the vice-presidents of the American Bible Society, and the president of the Colonization Society. "Such indeed," says one of his friends, "were the purity, integrity, and benevolence of his character, the soundness of his judgment, and the simplicity and kindness of his manners, that, though always on the unpopular side of party politics, yet he was the most beloved and esteemed of all men in Virginia."

It has been well said, in connection with Judge MARSHALL, that, interesting as it is to contemplate such a man in his public character, and official functions, there are those who dwell with far more delight upon his private and domestic qualities. There are few great men whom one is brought near, however dazzling may be their talents or actions, who are not thereby painfully diminished in the estimate of those who approach them. The mist of distance sometimes gives a looming size to their character; but more often conceals its defects. To be amiable, as well as great; to be kind, gentle, simple, modest, and social, and at the same time to possess the rarest endowments of mind, and the warmest affections, is a union of qualities which the fancy may fondly portray, but the sober realities of life rarely establish. Yet it may be affirmed by those who had the privilege of intimacy with Mr. Chief Justice MARSHALL, that he rose, rather than fell, with the nearest surveys; and that in the domestic circle he was exactly what a wife, a child, a brother, and a friend would most desire. In that magical circle, admiration of his talents was forgotten in the indulgence of those affections and sensibilities which are awakened only to be gratified.

This may be a proper place to narrate an interesting circumstance as strikingly illustrative of the character and manners of the Judge; which, however well known, is worthy of a still wider circulation and of permanent record.

## CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

A gentleman traveling in Virginia, about the close of the day stopped at a tavern to obtain refreshments and spend the night. He had been there but a short time, before an old man alighted from his carriage, with the apparent intention of becoming also a guest at the same house. As the old gentleman drove up, it was observed that both the shafts of his gig were broken, and that they were held together by withes formed from the bark of a hickory sapling. He was very plainly clothed, his knee-buckles were loosened, and negligence generally pervaded his dress. About the same time, an addition of three or four young gentlemen was made to their number, most, if not all of them, of the legal profession. As soon as they became conveniently accommodated, the conversation was turned by one of the young gentlemen upon an eloquent address which had that day been delivered at the bar. It was replied, by another of them, that he had also that day listened to eloquence, no doubt equal, from the pulpit. Something like a sarcastic rejoinder was made to the eloquence of the pulpit, and a warm and able altercation ensued, in which the merits of Christianity became the subject of discussion. From six o'clock until eleven, the young champions wielded the sword of argument, adducing with ingenuity and ability everything which could be said for and against it. During this protracted period, the old gentleman listened with all the meekness and modesty of a child, as if he was adding new information to the stores of his mind; or he might be measuring their minds and observing the extent of their energies, or looking forward to the state of the country, should it be governed by the principles of infidelity; or, still more likely, he was collecting an argument which, characteristic of himself, no art would be able to elude, and no force resist. At last, one of the young men, remarking, that it was impossible to combat with long and established prejudices, whirled round, and with some familiarity, exclaimed, "Well, my old gentleman, what think you of these things?" If a streak of vivid lightning had at that moment crossed the room, their amazement could not have been greater than it was with what followed.

The old gentleman began to speak, and the most eloquent and unanswerable appeal was made, for nearly an hour, that they had ever heard or read. So perfect was his recollection, that every argument urged against Christianity, was met in the order in which it was advanced. Hume's sophistry on the subject of Miracles, was, if possible, more completely answered than it had already been done by Dr. Campbell; and withal, there was so much simplicity and energy, pathos and sublimity, that no one could utter a word in reply.

An attempt to describe the result, would be to try to paint the sunbeams. It was now a matter of inquiry and curiosity, who the old gentleman was. One or two supposed it was the eloquent preacher of whom they had heard,—but no,—it was JOHN MARSHALL,—the Chief Justice of the United States.

Besides his judicial labors, Judge MARSHALL contributed valuable additions to the historical and biographical literature of the country. He was author of the "Life of Washington," of which the first edition was published in 1805, in five large volumes; and the second, greatly improved and compressed into two volumes, in 1832. "The History of the American Colonies," which originally constituted an introductory part, was published in a separate form in 1824. These works have been so long and so favorably known to the public, that it is wholly unnecessary to enter upon a critical examination of them in this place. They have all the leading features which ought to distinguish historical compositions; fidelity, accuracy, impartiality, dignity of narrative, and simplicity and purity of style. "The Life of Washington" is indeed entitled to a very high rank, as it was prepared from a diligent perusal of the original papers of that great man, which were submitted to the liberal use of his biographer. Probably no person could have brought to so difficult a task more various and apt qualifications. The Chief Justice had served through a great part of the Revolutionary war, and was familiar with most of the scenes of Washington's exploits. He had long enjoyed his personal confidence, and felt the strongest admiration of his talents and virtues. He was also an early actor in the great political controversies, which after the Revolutionary war agitated the whole country, and ended in the establishment of the national constitution. He was a decided supporter of the administration of Washington, and a leader among his able advocates. The principles and the measures of that administration had his unqualified approbation; and he at all times maintained them in his public life with a sobriety and uniformity, which marked him out as the fittest example of the excellence of that school of patriots and statesmen. If to these circumstances are added his own peculiar cast of mind, his deep sagacity, his laborious diligence, his native candor, and lofty sense of duty, it could scarcely be doubted, that his "Life of Washington" would be invaluable for the truth of its facts and the accuracy and completeness of its narrative. And such has been, and will continue to be its reputation.

# LEWIS CASS.

In presenting to the public a series of portraits and memoirs of men distinguished in public life, it is scarcely to be hoped that our selections should always meet with uniform approval. The strong bias of party spirit, of sectional interest, or of professional collision, may sometimes award us but faint praise. We shall, however, endeavor to pursue our course with strict impartiality. Public men, who maintain an elevated rank in popular favor, in a country where their opinions and acts are open to certain scrutiny and free remark, must be possessed of more than ordinary merit. And we believe that we shall have public opinion decidedly with us, when we say, that it has fallen to the lot of few to occupy as various and important stations in the republic with so large a share of approbation, as the subject of the present sketch.

Lewis Cass, an eminent democratic leader, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9th, 1782. His ancestors were among the first settlers of that part of the country, and his father bore a commission in the revolutionary army, which he joined the day after the battle of Lexington, and in which he continued until the close of the war, having participated in the memorable battles of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Germantown. He was afterwards a major in Wayne's army. In 1799 he moved with his family to Marietta, but eventually settled at Wackalomoka, in the vicinity of Zanesville, in Ohio, where, after a life of honorable usefulness, he died in August, 1830.

His son, Lewis Cass, was educated at the academy of Exeter, and studied law at Marietta, under the late Governor Meigs. He was admitted to the bar in 1802, and pursued the practice of his profession successfully during several years.

In 1806 he was elected a member of the Ohio legislature. When the enterprise of Colonel Burr began to agitate the country, he was appointed on the committee to which the subject was referred, and drafted the law which enabled the local authorities to arrest the men

and boats on their passage down the Ohio. This law, interposing the arm of the state, baffled a project which was generally believed to have been of a revolutionary character, and intended to divide the west from the east. The same pen drafted the address to Mr. Jefferson, which unfolded the views of the Ohio legislature on this momentous subject.

In 1807, Mr. Cass was appointed marshal of the state, which office he resigned in 1813. In 1812, he volunteered his services in the force which was called out to join the army under General William Hull, and marched to Dayton, where he was elected colonel of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers. Having to break through an almost trackless wilderness, the army suffered much on its route to Detroit, and it was necessary that the officers of the volunteers should be exemplars in fatigue and privations, lest the men, unused to military discipline, should turn back in discouragement. Colonel Cass was among the most urgent for an invasion of the Canadian province immediately after the army arrived at Detroit; but General Hull did not cross the river until after the lapse of several days, and thereby lost all the advantages of a prompt and decisive movement. The advanced detachment was commanded by Colonel Cass, and he was the first man who landed, in arms, on the enemy's shore after the declaration of war. On entering Canada, General Hull distributed a proclamation among the inhabitants, which, at the time, had much notoriety, and was generally ascribed to Colonel Cass: it is now known that he wrote it. Whatever opinions may have been entertained of the inglorious descent from promise to fulfilment, it was generally regarded as a high spirited and eloquent document. Colonel Cass soon dislodged the British posted at the bridge over the Canards. There he maintained his ground, in expectation that the army would advance and follow up the success, by striking at Malden; but he was disappointed by the indecision of the general, who ordered the detachment to return.

In all the timorous and inefficient measures which followed, Colonel Cass had no responsible participation. His known disapprobation of the course pursued, made him an unwelcome counsellor at head quarters. When the army capitulated he was not present; but the detachment with which he was serving, under Colonel M'Arthur, was included, and being unable to retreat by the impracticable route behind it, submitted, and was embarked for Ohio. Colonel Cass immediately repaired to Washington, and made a report to government. In the following spring he was exchanged and

appointed colonel of the 27th regiment of infantry, and soon after was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. He joined General Harrison at Seneca, and crossing Lake Erie with him, after Perry's victory, was present in the pursuit of Proctor, and participated in the triumph at the Moravian towns. The north-western campaign being happily terminated, General Cass was left in command of Michigan and the upper province of Canada. His head quarters were at Detroit, and he thus became the military guardian of a people over whom he was soon (October 9, 1813,) called to preside as civil governor. In July, 1814, he was associated with General Harrison in a commission to treat (at Greenville, Ohio,) with the Indians, who had taken part against the United States during the war. A treaty of pacification was formed,—comparative tranquillity was restored to the frontiers, and a large body of Indians accompanied Governor Cass to Detroit, as auxiliaries. At one period, Michigan was left with only one company of regular soldiers for its defence, and that at the time consisted of twenty-seven men. With this inadequate force, and the local militia, the governor was, for a time, left to defend the territory against the hostile Indians, who were constantly hovering around Detroit.

In 1815, after the termination of the war, Governor Cass moved his family to Detroit. Michigan had suffered greatly during the war; Detroit exhibited a scene of devastation. Scarcely a family, when it resumed its domestic establishment, found more than the remnants of former wealth and comforts. Laws had become silent, and morals had suffered in the general wreck, and it required great prudence and an uncommon share of practical wisdom to lead back a people thus disorganised, to habits of industry and order. The civil government was established, and such laws enacted as could be most easily carried into effect. The legislative power being placed in the hands of the governor and judges, rendered it a delicate task to aid in the enactment of laws which were to be enforced by the same will; but it was performed with decision and enlightened discrimination.

The Indian relations were likewise to be readjusted throughout the western frontier. War had ruptured, or weakened every tie which had previously connected the tribes with our government. By decisive, but kind measures, the hollow truce which alone existed, was converted into a permanent peace, and they returned, by degrees, to their hunting grounds and usual places of resort, with a general disposition to live in amity and quiet.

During the same year, Governor Cass was associated with General M'Arthur to treat with the Indians at Fort Meigs. The north-

western part of Ohio was acquired at this time. The following year he was engaged in the same duty at St. Mary's, to carry into effect, with certain modifications, the treaty of Fort Meigs, and for the acquisition of land in Indiana. In 1819 he assisted in the treaty held at Sagano, by which large relinquishments were obtained from the Indians in Michigan. In all these negotiations, Governor Cass acted on the principle of frankness and fair reciprocity.

Two events occurred this year in Michigan, which gave a new aspect to her hopes and promises of prosperity. One was the privilege of electing a delegate to congress; the other was the sale of public lands within the territory. No one exerted himself with more zeal to effect these improvements than the governor, as he was convinced that the introduction of the elective franchise among the people, would elevate their political character; and that by the sale of the public land the population and prosperity of the country would be rapidly advanced.

In 1820, an expedition was planned by Governor Cass, under the sanction of Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of war, the object of which was to pass through Lake Superior, cross the country to the Mississippi, explore the sources of that river, and establish an intercourse with the Indians, on that extensive route. The party combined persons of science, who were capable of ascertaining the physical character of the country, and of making an instructive report, among whom were Mr. Schoolcraft, and Captain Douglass of the corps of engineers. A preliminary object was, to inform the Indians at the Sault de St. Marie of the intention of government to establish a military post at that point, and to determine the site. On his arrival there, Governor Cass assembled the Indians and made known the object in view. Being under the influence of a chief who was notoriously disaffected towards the United States, they heard the proposition with evident ill will, and broke up the council with every appearance of hostile intentions. They returned to their encampment, immediately transported their women and children over the river, and raised a British flag, as if in token of defiance. Governor Cass at once adopted the only course suited to the emergency. Taking only an interpreter with him, he advanced to the Indian encampment and pulled down, with his own hands, the anglo-savage flag, directing the interpreter to inform the Indians that they were within the jurisdiction of the United States, and that no other flag than theirs must be allowed to wave over it. Having given this bold and practical rebuke, he returned to his party, taking with him the flag, and leaving the

Indians to further reflection. The moral influence of this opportune and seemingly perilous step, was immediately seen; new overtures were made by the Indians, which led to an amicable and satisfactory adjustment. The course of the expedition, and most of its scientific results, have been published in Mr. Schoolcraft's interesting journal.

In 1821, the services of Governor Cass were again brought into requisition by the government, to assist in another treaty, to be negotiated at Chicago. He embarked at Detroit, in a birch canoe, ascended the Maumee, crossed into the Wabash, descended that river to the Ohio, went down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and ascended that and the Illinois to Chicago. By the treaty formed there, all the country in Michigan, not before ceded, south of Grand river, was acquired.

In 1823, Governor Cass concluded an arrangement with the Delaware Indians, by which they ceded some valuable tracts on the Muskingum, in Ohio.

In 1825, he proceeded to Prairie du Chien, where, in conjunction with General Clark, a treaty of general pacification was concluded among the north-westerly tribes. In his tour of 1820, Governor Cass had observed that one abundant source of contention among the Indians arose from uncertain or undefined boundaries. In order to remove this cause, as many as practicable of the tribes were collected at this time, in order to ascertain, by tradition and custom, and establish by general consent, the limits of each dominion. Much difficulty attended this negotiation, as each tribe apprehended a diminution of its own power, and an increase of its neighbor's. But the objects of the treaty, were, in part, attained. A common acceptance of certain geographical or other known boundaries, was obtained. The beneficial effects of this important treaty will be accruing with each coming year. Although many may dissent from the terms of the treaty, for a time, yet lines of separation, defined with so much solemnity, and by such general consent, will at last be appealed to as decisive, and become unalterably fixed. War will still prevail, but border contests, the most inveterate and sanguinary, may be appeased. The following year he again traversed the great lake to fulfil the benevolent purposes of government. A treaty was held, at Fond du Lac, with those tribes who were too remote from Prairie du Chien, to have met there. The great object of these treaties was to remove the causes of contention between the tribes, by inducing them to accept of certain geographical or other known boundaries, as the limits of each dominion. Colonel

M'Kenney, who was associated with Governor Cass on this occasion, has given a lively and picturesque account of the excursion. Another treaty was made on the Wabash, on their return from Lake Superior, by which the Indians ceded a large tract of land in Indiana.

In 1827, treaties were negotiated at Green Bay and at St. Joseph's; Governor Cass was an agent in both. On his arrival at Green Bay, instead of finding the Winnebagoes, who were to have been parties in the negotiation, he learned that they were collecting in hostile bodies, for the purpose of waging war against the whites. With his usual promptitude he adapted his course to the emergency. Embarking in a birch canoe he ascended the Fox river, crossed the Portage, and had partly descended the Ouisconsin, when he perceived an encampment of Winnebagoes on its bank. To show his confidence in them, he landed alone, and approached the wigwams; but the Indians refused to hold any communication with him. After much fruitless endeavor to conciliate, he returned towards his canoe, when a young Indian snapped his rifle at his back. Whether the piece was loaded and missed fire; or the act was an empty, but significant token of enmity, is not known.

Pursuing his course down the river, he reached Prairie du Chien, and found the settlement there in a state of extreme alarm. A large boat on the Mississippi had been attacked by a numerous band, and escaped capture only by a gallant but bloody defence; and a whole family had been murdered and scalped on the skirts of the village. Having organised the inhabitants in the best manner, for their own defence, there being no garrison there at the time, he descended the Mississippi to St. Louis, where the means of defence were to be obtained, and at his suggestion a large detachment of United States troops was moved up the river, in time to prevent further bloodshed. In the mean time Governor Cass returned to the bay, in the same canoe, by the way of the Illinois and Lake Michigan, having made a circuit of about eighteen hundred miles, with unprecedented rapidity. His celerity of movement, and the alacrity with which the United States troops seconded his call, probably averted a war that might have embraced the whole north-west frontier. A negotiation followed, which restored tranquillity. The apparent violence offered to him by the Indian on the Ouisconsin, is the only instance of that nature which had occurred during his long and intimate intercourse with the Indians.

In 1828 another treaty was held by him at Green Bay; and another at St. Joseph's, by which a cession was procured for Indiana.

In these various treaties, Governor Cass had been instrumental in acquiring for the United States, and rescuing from the wilderness, for the great agricultural purposes of the country, many millions of acres of land; and in a manner which ought to leave no consciousness on his mind, that he has aggravated the lot of a single tribe of Indians.

The first council of Michigan met in 1822. This body relieved the governor and judges of their legislative duties, and gave the government of the territory a more republican form. Governor Cass's messages to the several councils, convened under his administration, were always written in a chaste and dignified style; indeed, all the public documents that came from his pen, while governor of the territory, may be regarded as good models of executive composition, and exhibit a highly cultivated literary taste. But his literary reputation rests on a broader and more appropriate basis than his gubernatorial writings.

Sometime in the year 1825, John Dunn Hunter's narrative appeared, which, at the time, attracted much attention. Governor Cass, in the course of his tours through the west, had satisfied himself that this work was an imposture. In determining to expose it to the world, his mind was led to dwell on the ample subject of Indian character, language, and condition, and he wrote the article which appeared in the fiftieth number of the North American Review. The subject was full of interest, and was written in a style uncommonly earnest and eloquent, and the public was gratified to find that a theme so interesting and important, had engaged the attention of so cultivated and liberal a mind. Another article of his, presenting the aborigines under new aspects, appeared in the fifty-fifth number of the same periodical. This article, which was altogether of an historical and statistical character, attracted equal attention with its precursor.

Sometime in 1828, a historical society was formed in Michigan, of which Governor Cass was elected the president. He delivered the first address before it in 1829. This address, embodying the early history of Michigan, brings it down to the period when the United States came into possession of it. Its publication excited a spirit of research and inquiry, which has already produced the most beneficial results.

In 1830, Governor Cass was invited by the alumni of Hamilton college, New York, to deliver an address at their anniversary meeting He accepted the invitation, and in the address which he delivered, displayed an affluence of reading and reflection which proved his habitual acquaintance with most of the departments of human know

ledge. From that college he subsequently received the honorary degree of LL. D. He had previously been admitted an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia; of the New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Indiana Historical Societies; of the American Antiquarian Society; and of the Columbian Institute.

In July, 1831, having been appointed secretary of war by President Jackson, Governor Cass resigned his office as governor of the territory, after having administered it for eighteen years. When he began his administration, he found the country small in population, without resources, and almost sunk under the devastations of war. He left it with a wide-spread population, and thriving with unprecedented prosperity. This auspicious condition may not all be attributed to executive instrumentality. But an administration, impartial, vigilant, pervading, and intelligent, may be fairly supposed to have shed a happy influence on all around. It will be long remembered in Michigan, where its termination was universally regretted.

The duties of the war department were discharged by General Cass, at two of the most critical periods of our history, with consummate skill and tact. During the state-rights issue in South Carolina, he was the chief person engaged in sending a deputation from the old dominion to mediate between the state and the general government; while his instructions to General Scott, who had been sent down to South Carolina by General Jackson, expressly prohibited all interference with the civil institutions of the state. He exhibited the same high regard for the rights of the states in the contest between the general government and Governor Gayle, of Alabama, on the subject of the intrusion on the Indians. His orders were again given to the commanding officer to obey the civil authorities in all respects, and to admit any state officer with process into his fort, to execute the law. Indeed the testimony may be borne to General Cass, that, contrary to military leaders in general, he has always placed the civil authority above the military.

In October, 1836, General Cass was appointed minister from our government to France, an important post, which he filled till December, 1842. Perhaps no minister, since the time of Doctor Franklin, enjoyed the respect and confidence of the government and people of France to as high a degree as the General; none could be more universally admired for his love of freedom; and none therefore could be better enabled to render essential services to his own country. He was consulted on every important question of state, and his opinions regarded with the highest deference. Thus he was enabled by the force of argument, and the weight of his high character, to break down

the quintuple treaty, already concluded and partially signed by the five great powers of Europe—England, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia—which would have constituted England permanent mistress of the sea, by giving her the control over the police of the ocean. General Cass caused this treaty for the Right of Search, and the impunity of insulting our flag on the high waters, to be annulled, and another treaty to be substituted for it, in virtue of which our own ships of war were charged with the execution of our own laws.

On his return to the United States, General Cass was nominated for the presidency, and received one hundred and twenty-five votes at the Baltimore convention in 1844; but Mr. Polk received the final nomination, and General Cass at once came forward in support of the nominee, addressing the people of the west in his behalf. In the same year he was elected a United States senator from Michigan, and took his seat in 1845, with Mr. Polk for president. In the session of 1845–46, he rendered most important services on the Oregon question, and adhered to the last to his firm conviction that the United States were lawfully entitled to the whole territory up to latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes. The probability is that England would never have conceded the boundary of forty-nine, which was finally agreed on, but for his firmness. During the Mexican war, the General supported Mr. Polk's administration, being chairman of the military committee of the senate.

In 1848 General Cass was nominated for the presidency against General Taylor, then fresh from the battle fields of Mexico, and supported, in some states, as a democratic candidate for that high office. He received the electoral votes of half the states of the Union, even though a portion of the Democracy organized on a sectional issue, and voted for an independent candidate. In 1852, he was again before the Baltimore Convention, and received a larger number of votes than any other man, but the choice ultimately fell on General Pierce. But his greatest triumph was achieved during the session of congress immediately following the election of General Taylor; when pending the agitation of the slavery question, which threatened our domestic peace and the perpetuity of the Union, he led on to victory by inducing the legislature to adopt the platform on which he had stood on the Presidential canvass. He was also the first statesman of the North who declared what was called the Wilmot Proviso unconstitutional; his speech was unanswerable, and tended greatly to restore the threatened peace of the country. In voting against the Wilmot Proviso, he acted in opposition to the instructions from his state to vote for it; but he

was fully prepared to resign his seat in the senate and return to private life, rather than to act so as, in his judgment, would do violence to the constitution, and injure the rights of his Southern brethern. His arguments, however, convinced the people of his state that they had been in the wrong, and the legislature of Michigan repealed the instructions before the vote on the measures of adjustment was finally taken in the United States Senate. He has often given full evidence that honors have no attractions for him, when, in his judgment, they conflict with his duty to his country. With him the post of duty is always that of honor.

General CASS was reëlected to the United States Senate in 1851. The election took place in advance of the organization of the legislature, and even before the House had elected its speaker. No living American statesman more entirely fills the public eye, at home and abroad, than General CASS; none is more thoroughly wedded to republican liberty, or is considered an abler representative of the democratic principle of self-government. In him the cause of freedom has found a champion, whose fame, while borne triumphantly aloft in his own country, has penetrated the prison walls of the oppressed of other climes, till even children have been taught to lisp his name with reverence.

All the relations of private life, are sustained by General CASS in a manner which secures high and universal esteem. With great powers of mind, grasping every object to which they are applied, and preventing its escape, if it can benefit his country, or his own neighborhood, all are compelled to love him. No one who knows him, will attempt to detract from his fair fame; such an attempt, indeed, would fail of success, for high morals, entire freedom from bigotry, generous hospitality, and almost boundless benevolence, secure to him the warm affections of his immediate neighbors; and the prayer of millions is, that he may long enjoy life in his family, in his museum, and in the senate of his country.

# ANDREW JACKSON.

ANDREW JACKSON was born on the 15th March, 1767, in Waxsaw, South Carolina, a settlement whither his family had emigrated from Ireland two years previous. His father dying soon after the birth of this, his third son, ANDREW was left in the care of a faithful mother, who determined to afford him such a rudimental education, as would be of service to him in case her fond desire should be realized by his choosing the clerical profession. He had scarcely time to enter upon the study of the languages, when the revolutionary struggle involved his native spot in the commotion, and at the age of fourteen he abandoned school for the colonial camp. In consequence of the smallness of their number, the body of troops to which he was attached, were obliged to withdraw to North Carolina, but soon returned to their own settlement, where a party of forty were surprised by a large detachment of the enemy, and compelled to surrender. JACKSON and his brother eluded the fate of their companions, but were taken the next day, and kept in strict confinement, until they were exchanged after the battle of Camden. His eldest brother had previously perished in the service of the colony; his only surviving brother, the companion of his imprisonment, died in consequence of a wound inflicted by the officer of the British detachment, for refusing to perform menial services, and his mother survived him but a few weeks, a victim to anxiety and fatigue. ANDREW escaped with his life from the rage of the same officer, excited by the same cause, only by his dexterity in receiving on his hand the stroke of the sword which was aimed with fury at his head.

Having thus become heir to the whole of the moderate estate left by his father, he prosecuted his education. In 1784, he commenced the study of the law in Salisbury, North Carolina; was admitted to practice in 1786, and removed in 1788 to Nashville, to make an enterprising experiment in that newly peopled district of Tennessee. Professional success immediately attended him, in consequence of the singular condition of the affairs of the settlers. Many

of the young adventurers, who had traded on credit with the merchants of the town, were unable, or indisposed to fulfil their engagements, and had retained the only practitioner of the law then in Nashville, as their counsellor. The creditors had consequently no means of prosecuting their claims; but the moment of JACKSON'S arrival they availed themselves of his aid, and on the very next day he commenced seventy suits. This auspicious opening introduced him to a respectable business. He was soon after appointed attorney general of the district. The depredations of the Indians upon the new country frequently called him into active military service with his fellow citizens; among whom he was distinguished by his energy and valor. Thus conspicuous, he was selected, in 1796, as a delegate to the convention for forming a constitution for the state; and was in the same year elected to the lower house of congress. In the year following, he was delegated to the national senate, in which he took his seat, but resigned at the close of the session, alleging his distaste for the intrigues of politics. Within that period he was chosen major general of the Tennessee militia, and held the office until called to the same rank in the United States' service, in 1814.

Upon his retirement from the national legislature, General JACKSON was appointed to the bench of the supreme court of the state, an office which he accepted with diffidence and reluctance, and soon resigned, retiring from public life to his farm on the Cumberland river, near Nashville. Here he passed several years in the pursuits of agriculture, until summoned by the second war with Great Britain to take an active part in the defence of the country. He proceeded in the winter of 1812, at the head of twenty-five hundred volunteers, to the duty assigned him by the general government, of defending the lower states, and descended the Ohio and Mississippi to Natchez, where he had been instructed to await further orders. The danger of the anticipated invasion being dispelled, JACKSON was directed by the secretary of war to disband his troops on the spot. But a large number of his men being then sick, and destitute of the means of returning home, he felt bound by obligations to them and their families to lead them back, and to disregard an order made without the knowledge of his peculiar circumstances. This purpose he effected, sharing with his men in all the hardships of the return. His subsequent representations to the cabinet were accepted, and his course sanctioned.

The Creek Indians having become allies of the British, and perpetrated several massacres, the legislature of Tennessee placed a

force of thirty-five hundred of their militia under the command of JACKSON to proceed against them. The first attack upon the savages was made at Talladega, on the river Coosa, where a band of a thou sand Creeks were routed and dispersed. In the beginning of 1814. another party was defeated at Emuckfaw, and in March, the general proceeded to the village of Tohopeka, or Horse-shoe, on the Tallapoosa, where a long and desperate battle was waged. The Indians screened themselves behind a long rampart of timbers and trunks of trees, directing their unerring fire from a double row of port-holes. The contest was prolonged from the morning to midnight of the 27th, when they were driven from the entrenchment, leaving upwards of five hundred of their warriors on the field. JACKSON determined to proceed next to Hoithlewalee, a Creek town near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; but the swelling of the streams by recent rains so much impeded his progress, that the enemy had time to escape. At the Hickory Ground, however, near the villages, the principal chiefs sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their withdrawing to the neighborhood of fort Williams. Hostility being checked in this quarter, the troops took up their march homeward on the 21st April, terminating a most severe service; during which, the promptness and decision of the commander maintained the order and efficiency of the troops, (although menaced by mutiny and scarcity of provisions,) and by his celerity defeating the stratagems even of Indian warfare. "Within a few days," he observed to his army at the close of the war, "you have annihilated the power of a nation, that for twenty years has been the disturber of your peace."

His services in the campaign attracted the notice of government, and he was commissioned a major general, May, 1814. In the same year he was named a commissioner with Colonel Hawkins, to form a treaty with the subdued tribes, the principal object of which was to prevent any intercourse between them and the British and Spanish agents in the Floridas. This was accomplished at Alabama in August, and the right secured to the United States of establishing military posts in their territory.

While engaged in this employment, he discovered that the Indians were still encouraged and supported by the Spaniards in Florida, and that a British officer was permitted to organize and drill a body of British soldiers and fugitive Creeks in Pensacola. The remonstrances which JACKSON addressed to the Spanish governor were contemned. He anticipated a movement against New Orleans, and announced the

impending danger to the neighboring states, urging them to immediate and vigorous preparation. He drew a supply of volunteers from Tennessee, and proceeded in person to Mobile to make the defence of that point. An attack was soon commenced upon fort Bowyer, which commands the bay of Mobile, by a squadron with a force under Colonel Nicholls, who was repulsed with loss by the Americans under Major Lawrence. The British retired into Pensacola to refit, and JACKSON, who had in vain requested permission from the president to attack that town, so openly departing from its neutrality, determined to advance against it upon his own respon sibility, throw a force into fort Barrancas, and expect the result. Accordingly, he took possession of the town with an army of three thousand, in the beginning of November, driving the Spaniards before him after a short but unavailing resistance. Fort Barrancas was blown up by the enemy after the surrender of the town, and that fortress being the main object of capture, in order to secure the command of Pensacola, JACKSON did not think it necessary to retain possession of the town, and returned to fort Montgomery.

The anxieties of the general were now directed to New Orleans, as the most probable point for the next attempt of the hovering enemy, and he reached that city on the first of December, 1814. The population of this denizen territory were not easily excited to the degree of alacrity required by the exigence, and the principal dependence of JACKSON to meet a large body of well-disciplined English troops, was upon the volunteers of Tennessee and Kentucky, whom he had summoned to his aid. He at once fortified the approaches to the city, with the coöperation of Commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force. Early on the morning of the 14th December, the enemy, in number about twelve hundred, approached in forty-three barges, and commenced an attack on the American flotilla lying in lake Borgne, consisting of five gun boats, and one hundred and eighty-two men. A brave defence was made by the gallant little squadron for about an hour, when the superior number of the enemy triumphed, and the Americans were carried prisoners to Cat island.

JACKSON now prepared for a more formidable attempt, and troops and arms were gradually arriving to his assistance. At this momentous juncture, he discovered that the safety of the country was exposed to the treachery of a number of disaffected inhabitants of New Orleans; and that the suspected might be put under proper restraint, he urged upon the legislature of Louisiana the necessity of suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. While the

measure was in the slow process of deliberation, JACKSON proclaimed the city to be under martial law, superseding all civil authority by a rigid military police.

On the 22d, the British secretly effected a landing, and reached the banks of the Mississippi, within seven miles of the city. As soon as this was known, he called upon Generals Coffee and Carroll to join him, and proceeded to meet the invaders. The hostile armies came in sight of each other near the close of the day. The number of the enemy was upwards of three thousand, the American force did not exceed two thousand; the latter, however, commenced the charge, and a severe conflict lasted until the darkness of the night confused the combatants. The British were driven before our army for nearly a mile, from several successive intrenchments. By continual accessions during the battle, the British force was estimated to have increased to the number of six thousand; the American commander deeming it rash to pursue his success at such a hazard, proceeded to prepare for defence by throwing up a breastwork in front of his army. On the 28th, these works were attacked by the enemy under their commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Packenham, and were forced to retire. Frequent skirmishes occurred between detached parties for several days, while the enemy were preparing for a grand assault. On the first of January, 1815, they opened a tremendous discharge from their batteries upon our lines, but the fire was returned with such success, that by three o'clock they were silenced.

On the fourth, a timely reinforcement from Kentucky added twenty-five hundred men to the American army. On the eighth, the enemy advanced in two divisions under Sir Edward Packenham, and owing to a fog, approached within a short distance of the intrenchments before they were discovered. A terrible and unceasing volley kept them back, and Packenham fell, fatally wounded. The British columns, sixty or seventy deep, were successively led on to the charge and broken by the dreadful havoc of the American fire, until they betook themselves to flight. JACKSON was obliged to submit to the mortification of withholding his men from pursuit, for a large portion of them were without arms, and to venture with so inferior a force to a battle on the open field would have been an unjustifiable risk. He was compelled, therefore, to remain in his post. The force of the British in this memorable engagement was at least nine thousand; the efficient American troops amounted to thirty-seven hundred. The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is estimated at three thousand, while that of the victors was but thirteen

For several days after the battle, the British camp was harassed by a continual discharge from the batteries, which compelled the army to withdraw secretly to their ships on the night of the 18th, and they soon left the coast. The general entered New Orleans with his victorious troops on the 20th, where he was received with boundless enthusiasm, and solemn thanksgiving to Providence was offered in public services at the Cathedral. Insidious attempts were now made in New Orleans to destroy the strength of the army by encouraging mutiny and desertion. The city being still under martial law, JACKSON caused to be arrested a member of the legislature who had furnished the newspapers with articles of a pernicious tendency. Application was made to the district judge for a writ of habeas corpus, to be served on the general, which he granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of JACKSON, who promptly ordered the judge also to be arrested and sent from the city. Two days afterwards, official intelligence was received of the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the belligerent countries. The judge had no sooner resumed his office, than JACKSON was summoned to answer for his contempt of court in disregarding the writ, and in arresting the judicial officer. The general appeared and vindicated his course, through his counsel, but was fined in the sum of one thousand dollars. This sentence excited universal indignation, and the amount of the amercement was quickly contributed by the people; but the general had already discharged it from his own funds, and requested that the other sum should be distributed among the relatives of those, who had fallen in the battle.

The command being committed to General Gaines, JACKSON returned to his farm, where he remained until the end of 1817, when he was directed to proceed against the Seminole Indians, who, emerging from the Spanish territory, had committed repeated massacres of the Americans on the frontiers. At the head of the Tennessee volunteers, who were afterwards joined by the Georgia militia, he penetrated into Florida, destroyed the retreats of the skulking savages and fugitive slaves who had banded with them, and burned their villages. Two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, were arrested by his order, charged with exciting and leading on the insurgents. They were tried by a court of thirteen officers, found guilty, and in pursuance of their sentence, the former was hung and the other shot. After placing a garrison in St. Marks, the general was about returning to Tennessee, when he learned that the dispersed bands were combining west of the Appalachicola, under the countenance and pro-

tection of the governor of Pensacola. During May, he, with a force of twelve hundred, ranged the suspected district, and marched into Pensacola, of which he took possession; the governor flying to fort Barrancas, which was also yielded on the 28th. Two detachments were then sent to clear the country of the fugitives, which being accomplished, JACKSON returned home in June, 1818. The house of representatives, in the next session of congress, justified his course in taking temporary possession of the Spanish fortresses, and in executing the two British ringleaders. Soon after these events he visited the northern cities, where he was enthusiastically received with public and private honors.

When the Floridas were ceded by Spain to the United States, the president appointed General JACKSON a commissioner to receive the cession, and act as governor of the territory. This important annexation was officially announced by him at Pensacola in July, 1821, when he commenced his administration. Having organized his new government, he resigned his office, and returned to his farm in Tennessee.

In the month of August, 1822, the legislature of Tennessee nominated General JACKSON as the successor of Mr. Monroe in the presidency of the United States, the proposition was favorably received in many parts of the union. He declined an appointment as minister to Mexico, and in 1823 was elected to the senate of the United States; but having now become a prominent candidate for the chief magistracy, he resigned his seat in the second session. The result of the popular elections of 1824 for president, gave General JACKSON a plurality, but not a majority of votes. The house of representatives were required, by the constitutional provision, to make a selection from the three who received the greatest number of votes, and the suffrages of the states gave the majority to Mr. Adams. General JACKSON was at once nominated to succeed Mr. Adams at the close of his term of service, and the elections of the colleges were reported to Congress on February 11, 1829, as giving to General JACKSON, one hundred and seventy-eight votes, and to Mr. Adams, his only competitor, eighty-three.

The four years of his first administration did not prove barren of important incidents. The interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—foreign treaties, internal improvements, and the removal of the Cherokee Indians—the United States' Bank, the South Carolina Ordinance, and the Proclamation of the 10th December, 1832, were among the subjects which were earnestly agitated and

discussed in congress and in the state legislatures,—in popular assemblies, and the public press, with a zeal and earnestness, we had almost said, unparalleled in the history of our country; but when we look back to former administrations, we find that in all of them, there has been something which has been made the rallying point of party; something to attach one portion of our citizens to the measures of government and to give discontent to others. By the constitution, it is made the duty of the president to recommend to congress such measures as he may judge necessary and expedient, and for such measures he is of course responsible to his country; but any member of congress may also introduce such as *he* may think necessary and expedient,—and if he can carry them through the legislative branch of the government, the executive must either approve, or disapprove of them, and thus be made responsible in one way or the other for the effect. As it is impossible for any measure of the government to be equally advantageous to every citizen, nor can all citizens possess precisely the same views, on subjects in which they have no immediate interest; there will and must be parties in the country: and whoever is, or may be president, there will be some to approve and praise, and others to censure and condemn him.

In the year 1832, General JACKSON was again nominated for the presidency, in connexion with Martin Van Buren as the candidate for vice-president. The incidents of this important election, will not be forgotten while any man lives who took part in it. The sudden contractions and expansions of the currency, produced by the bank, were severely felt. The moneyed interests of the country were temporarily deranged. The storm was a severe one. No public man of his day, except ANDREW JACKSON, possessed the fearlessness necessary to encounter it. No man but himself, had the deep and abiding hold on the sympathies and affections of the people of America, without which he would inevitably have been crushed. Nothing but his commanding influence and wide spread popularity, connected with the unflinching determination of his character, enabled him, like the well-rooted, proud oak, to set the whirlwind at defiance. Henry Clay, William Wirt, and John Floyd, were the presidental opponents; but JACKSON was elected by an overwhelming majority, showing his extraordinary popularity and influence. The conduct of a party called Nullifiers, the passage of the Compromise Act, the removal of the deposits from the bank, and the firmness of the President in reference to the refusal of France to pay the instalment required by the convention of 1831, are matters of history, rather than of biography, and may therefore

be dismissed from our notice. Nothing of unusual interest occurred during the administration of General JACKSON, after the amicable settlement of the difficulty with France. The severe panic which followed the derangement of the currency, consequent upon the efforts of the Bank to procure a renewal of its charter, was followed by a season of unexampled prosperity. In 1835, the public debt was entirely liquidated; and on the final retirement of General JACKSON to private life, in the spring of 1837, he issued a farewell address to the people, setting forth the principles on which he had conducted the government, and congratulating them on the peace and happiness which they enjoyed.

As the now ex-president prepared to take his final leave of Washington, the mass of the population of the city, and the masses which had gathered from around, followed his carriage in crowds. All in silence stood near him to wish him adieu; and as the cars started, and he displayed his grey hairs, as he lifted his hat in token of farewell, they stood around with heads uncovered, too full of emotion to speak, in solemn silence gazing on him as he departed, never more to be seen in their midst.

"Behold," says Bancroft, in his admirable eulogy, delivered in the City of Washington, "Behold the warrior and statesman, his work well done, retired to the Hermitage, to hold converse with his forests, to cultivate his farm, to gather around him hospitably his friends! Who was like HIM? He was still the loadstar of the American people. His fervid thoughts, frankly uttered, still spread the flame of patriotism through the American breast; his counsels were still listened to with reverence; and, almost alone among statesmen, he in his retirement was in harmony with every onward movement of his time. His prevailing influence assisted to sway a neighboring nation to desire to share our institutions; his ear heard the footsteps of the coming millions that are to gladden our western shores; and his eye discerned in the dim distance the whitening sails that are to enliven the waters of the Pacific with the social sounds of our successful commerce.

"Age had whitened his locks and dimmed his eye, and spread around him the infirmities and venerable emblems of many years of toilsome service; but his heart beat as warmly as in his youth, and his courage was as firm as it had ever been in the day of battle. But while his affections were still for his friends and his country, his thoughts were already in a better world. That exalted mind, which in active life had always had unity of perception and will, which in action had

never faltered from doubt, and which in council had always reverted to first principles and general laws, now gave itself up to communing with the Infinite. He was a believer; from feeling, from experience, from conviction. Not a shadow of scepticism ever dimmed the lustre of his mind. Proud philosopher! will you smile to know that ANDREW JACKSON perused reverently his Psalter and Prayer Book, and Bible? Know that ANDREW JACKSON had faith in the eternity of truth, in the imperishable power of popular freedom, in the destinies of humanity, in the virtues and capacity of the people, in his country's institutions, in the being and overruling providence of a merciful and ever-living God."

He had now reached the seventy-ninth year of his age, when on June 8th, 1845, the Sabbath of the Lord, death found him in the full possession of his faculties, and prepared for the great change, which took place on that day. When he first felt the hand of death upon him, he cried, "May my enemies find peace; may the liberties of my country endure forever."

We again quote from Bancroft. "When his exhausted system, under the excess of pain, sunk, for a moment, from debility, 'Do not weep,' said he, to his adopted daughter; 'my sufferings are less than those of Christ upon the cross;' for he, too, as a disciple of the cross, could have devoted himself in sorrow, for mankind. Feeling his end near, he would see all his family once more; and he spoke to them, one by one, in words of tenderness and affection. His two little grandchildren, were absent at Sunday school. He asked for them; and as they came, he prayed for them, and kissed them, and blessed them. His servants were then admitted; they gathered, some in his room, and some on the outside of the house, clinging to the windows, that they might gaze and hear. And that dying man, thus surrounded, in a gush of fervid eloquence, spoke with inspiration of God, of the Redeemer, of salvation through the atonement, of immortality, of heaven. For he ever thought that pure and undefiled religion, was the foundation of private happiness, and the bulwark of republican institutions. Having spoken of immortality in perfect consciousness of his own approaching end, he bade them all farewell. 'Dear children,' such were his final words, 'dear children, servants, and friends, I trust to meet you all in heaven, both white and black.' And having borne his testimony to immortality, he bowed his mighty head, and without a groan, the spirit of the greatest man of his age escaped to the bosom of his God."

If General JACKSON was great in the field, and in the presidential

chair, he was assuredly as great, though in a different way, in private life. He who had conquered the wilderness, subdued the savage, and brought the enemies of his country to a state of submission, with equal ease attracted every neighbor, and friend, and every member of his household to himself, and excited emulation as to who should show him the highest marks of their regard. He had a heart full of sympathy, so that the anguish of the wife he cordially loved, and of the orphans whom he had adopted, would melt him into tears, and make him weep and sob like a child. When he retired from public life to his home, he had no friendships to repair, for the flame had continued during his absence to burn high and bright. He who on the battle-field of Tohopeka had saved an infant which clung to the breast of its dying mother, and who at a most important moment in the stormiest season of his presidency, paused on his way to give good counsel to a poor suppliant, who had appealed to him for help, could not be otherwise than tender and kind when in the bosom of a lovely family. We feel no surprise at the testimony borne by his friend, the Hon. Levi Woodbury, in his able eulogy at Portsmouth, N. H. "His wife, when dead, as well as living, he regarded almost as a guardian angel. Her miniature was worn near his heart in health, and reposed with his bible by his sick couch. Well do I remember, while walking with him once among the tombs of the distinguished dead in the congressional burying-ground, whither we had gone to pay the last obsequies to another of their number, he said, 'One solemn request I now urge on you: should I die in this city, remove my ashes to Tennessee, and let me sleep beside my beloved wife.' Thank God! his fond wishes on this subject have been realized; and they do sleep together under the shades of the Hermitage, as they hope to rise together at the resurrection of the just." Yes, "his body," to use the words of Bancroft, "has its fit resting place in the great central valley of the Mississippi, his spirit rests upon our whole territory; it hovers over the vales of Oregon, and guards, in advance, the frontier of the Del Norte. The fires of party spirit are quenched at his grave. His faults and frailties have perished. Whatever of good he has done, lives, and will live forever." "Long," says Woodbury, "will the memory of such a man be cherished by an admiring world; and long, very long, may it live in the hearts of his countrymen, and shed a genial influence over their character and institutions. Age and youth, in grateful crowds, till the evening of time, will gather around his tomb, recount his patriotism and glories with tearful eyes, venerate his virtues, and grow wiser and better by the salutary lessons his life inculcates."

It will be readily believed that such a man as the one we have described would have correct views of the duty of every class of men, and would be competent to give suitable advice. A preacher in the West applied to President JACKSON for an office. At that time the president was not aware of his being a minister, and politely told him that he would examine and weigh his claims. A few days after, the gentleman waited upon the president for an answer; who having previously ascertained the facts of the case, asked him, if he were not a Christian minister, and was answered in the affirmative. "Well," said the General, "if you discharge the duties of that office, which is better than any I can confer, you will have no time for any other. I advise you to return home, and attend to that, without seeking any addition to your responsibility, that you may be enabled hereafter to give a good account of your stewardship."

Nor was his view of the extent of religious freedom less correct. While yet connected with the army, one evening an officer presented himself, and complained that some of the soldiers had got together in a tent, and were making a great noise. "What are they doing?" asked the General with some feeling. "They are *praying* now, but they have been singing." "And is that a crime." "The articles of war order punishment for any unusual noise." "God forbid," said the old General "that praying should be an unusual noise in any camp."

We cannot close this brief sketch of a great man without presenting to the imagination of the reader a view of the person of our hero. That person was tall and thin, and presented the very embodiment of courage and determination. He could not be seen without feeling, that his friends were right when they called him "the man of the *iron will*." Age, combined with arduous toil, planted furrows on his cheek, but to the very last you felt that he had determination to do whatever he deemed to be right. We can almost hear him say, "*The Union: it must be preserved.*" But his animated and striking countenance also indicated courtesy and benevolence; his brilliant eye showed cheerfulness and calm deliberation in connexion with promptitude of action. His name will go down to posterity as being the representative of what was great and good; and we devoutly pray that thousands may imitate his great example, and, like him, scatter blessings over our country for all time to come.

# JAMES FENIMORE COOPER.

THE family of this distinguished author is one of the oldest in the United States. William Cooper arrived in this country in 1679, and settled at Burlington, New Jersey. He immediately took an active part in public affairs, as his name appears in the list of members of the colonial legislature for 1681. In 1687 he obtained a grant of land opposite the then new city of Philadelphia, extending several miles along the margin of the Delaware, and the tributary stream which has ever since borne the name of Cooper's Creek. The branch of the family to which the novelist belonged removed, more than a century since, into Pennsylvania, where his father was born. That gentleman married, early in life, a lady of a family which emigrated from Sweden at the first settlement of Delaware. He established himself in a hamlet of Burlington county, which continues to be called by his name, and afterwards in the city of Burlington. Having obtained extensive tracts of land on the border of Otsego Lake, in central New York, he commenced the settlement of his estate there in 1785, and in the following spring erected the first house in Cooperstown. From this time until 1790, Judge Cooper resided alternately at Cooperstown and Burlington, maintaining an establishment at each place.

JAMES FENIMORE was born at Burlington, Sept. 15, 1789, and in the following year was removed to the new home of his family in New York, of which he afterwards became the proprietor, and where he died. His father being a member of the congress, which then held its sessions in Philadelphia, the family spent much time at Burlington, where our author, when but six years of age, commenced, under a private tutor of some eminence, his classical education. When eleven years old, he became an inmate of the family of the Rev. Thomas Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's, in Albany, who had prepared three of his elder brothers for the University; and on the death of that accom-

plished teacher, JAMES was sent to New Haven, where he completed his preparatory studies. At the beginning of the second term of 1802 he entered Yale College; here he had among his classmates John A. Collier, Judge Cushman, Justice Sutherland, Judge Bissel, Colonel James Gadsden, and several others, who afterwards became eminent in various professions. In 1805 he left the college, where he had maintained a highly respectable position; in the ancient languages, particularly, he had no superior in his class.

Having obtained a midshipman's warrant, COOPER, at sixteen, entered the navy. His noble, frank and generous disposition, here made him a favorite, and admirably fitted him for the service, in which unquestionably he would have obtained the highest honors, had he not finally made choice of the easy and quiet life of a country gentleman. After six years not unprofitably spent on the ocean, as they gave him that knowledge of maritime affairs which enabled him subsequently almost without an effort, to place himself at the head of all writers on the sea, he resigned his office. On January 1, 1811, he was married to Miss De Lancey, sister to the bishop of Western New York of that name, and a member of one of the oldest and most influential families in the United States.

Not long after this, he began to exercise his talents in the way of literary productions, not only in the lighter department of novels, but in essays on philosophical subjects, and if in them the imagination was less shown, they certainly indicated quite as much of vigorous thought and manly style as anything which afterwards appeared from his pen. His first popular work was published with the title of "*Precaution;*" it was commenced under circumstances purely accidental, and issued under great disadvantages. Apparently expecting that prejudices might exist against such a work, he assumed a foreign guise, and laid its scene in England; it contained a full proportion of noble lords and titled dames, and was highly palatable to its readers, who began, however, to suspect from its intimate acquaintance with that country, whether its alleged author could have written it. It was republished in London, and passed for an English novel; its author deriving from it more credit for European knowledge, than he afterwards did for his work on England, written after many years' residence in Europe. But inasmuch as it contained no fashionable slang, misplaced sentimentality, incoherent rhapsodies, nor libels on distinguished persons,—as it was noticed in no English Review, and the secret of its authorship having transpired, it was descending to oblivion, when his "*Spy,*" "*Pioneers,*" "*Pilot,*" &c., appeared

in rapid succession, and placed our author universally high in public esteem.

The limits necessarily assigned to this article, preclude the possibility of an extended notice of the almost innumerable works which proceeded from Mr. COOPER's pen, all of which, however, varied in their character, and greatly differing in degrees of excellence, received great attention; and though neglected in some high quarters, they were translated into most of the European languages, and gave instruction and amusement to millions. Nor would it be less pleasing, as far as it might be possible, to sketch the little incidents connected with the origin of his works. An able writer in "*The International Magazine*," who has given, as we know, from high authority, the most correct sketch of COOPER hitherto published, and to whom we acknowledge ourselves indebted, gives this anecdote as to the origin of the "*The Pilot.*" "*The Pirate*," by Sir Walter Scott, had been published a short time, when in conversation with Charles Wilkes, of New York, a gentleman of fine taste and judgment, COOPER heard extolled the universal knowledge of Scott, and the sea-portions of the Pirate were referred to as proof. He laughed at the idea, as most seamen would, and the discussion ended by his promising to write a sea story which could be read by landsmen, while seamen should feel its truth. "*The Pilot*" was the fruit of that conversation. It is one of the most remarkable novels of the time, and everywhere obtained immediate and high applause.

About the year 1827, after the publication of "*The Last of the Mohicans*," Mr COOPER went to Europe, chiefly with the view of giving to his numerous and highly interesting family the advantages of a completely finished education. He had been complimented with the title of American Consul at Lyons, an empty honor, which he so little valued, that we have no evidence that he even once visited the scene of his official functions. Of all Americans who ever visited Europe, Mr. COOPER contributed most to the reputation of our country. His high character made him everywhere welcome; there was no circle, however aristocratical or distinguished, in which, if he appeared, he was not the observed of all observers; and he had the somewhat singular merit of never forgetting that he was an American. After being in Europe about two years, he published his "*Notions of the Americans*," in which he successfully "endeavored to repel some of the hostile opinions of the other hemisphere, and to turn the tables on those who at that time, most derided and calumniated us." This eloquent vindication of our institutions, manners and history, shows how warm was

his patriotism; how fondly, while receiving from strangers an homage withheld from him at home, he remembered the scene of his birth, and his first trials and triumphs, and how ready he was to sacrifice personal popularity and profit in defence of his country.

Nor was the publication of this work the only evidence he gave of his interest in "home." So well was he known, and so highly was his knowledge appreciated, that when, following the three days of July, 1830, a fierce contest took place between the absolutists, the republicans, and the constitutionalists, as to the comparative cheapness of our system of government, Lafayette appealed to Mr. COOPER, who entered the arena; and though, from his peculiar position, at a heavy pecuniary loss, and the danger of incurring yet greater misfortunes, by a masterly *exposé* silenced at once the popular falsehoods, which had gone to assert that the people of the United States paid more direct and indirect taxes for the support of government than the French. So in all places, circumstances and times, Mr. COOPER was the "*American* in Europe," as jealous of his country's reputation as of his own.

The first work which Mr. COOPER published after his return to the United States was "*A Letter to his Countrymen.*" They had yielded him but a hesitating applause until his praise come back from Europe; and when the tone of foreign criticism was changed by opinions and actions of his which should have united the whole American press in his defence, he was assailed in articles which either echoed the tone, or were translations of attacks made upon him by foreigners. The custom peculiar to this country of "quoting the opinions of foreign nations by way of helping to make up its own estimate of the degree of merit which belongs to its public men," is treated in this letter with caustic and just severity, and shown to be "destructive of those sentiments of self-respect and of that manliness of thought, that are necessary to render a people great, or a nation respectable." Satires, sketches of foreign lands, novels, history of the navy of the United States, dramas, &c., followed each other in rapid succession, and produced no small discussion. All these works which possess permanent interest are gradually re-appearing before the public, in the handsome style adopted by Putnam, of New York; and as they will most assuredly be almost universally read, it is unnecessary in this brief sketch fully to characterize each individual production. There is now living no writer whose fame is so universal.

"It is well known," says Dr. Francis, in his interesting 'Reminiscences,' "that for a long period Mr. COOPER, at occcasional times only, visited New York city. His residence for many years was an

elegant and quiet mansion on the southern borders of Otsego Lake, Here,—in his beautiful retreat, embellished by the substantial fruits of his labors, and displaying everywhere his exquisite taste, his mind, ever intent on congenial tasks, which, alas, are left unfinished, surrounded by a devoted and highly cultivated family, and maintaining the same clearness of perception, serene firmness, and integrity of tone which distinguished him in the meridian of his life,—were his mental employments prosecuted. He lived chiefly in rural seclusion, and with habits of methodical industry. When visiting the city he mingled cordially with his old friends; and it was on the last occasion of this kind at the beginning of April, [1851] that he consulted me with some earnestness in regard to his health. He complained of the impaired tone of the digestive organs, great torpor of the liver, weakness of muscular activity, and feebleness in walking. Such suggestions were offered for his relief as the indications of disease warranted. He left the city for his country residence, and I was gratified shortly after to learn from him of his better condition." Alas, that all this improvement was transient. In August the Doctor was summoned to the dwelling of his friend, to witness symtoms which all his skill could not remove. The friend and the author peacefully died amidst the tears of his family, Sept. 14, 1851, in the sixty-second year of his age. When describing the state of his mind during his last illness, the Doctor says, "The great characteristics of his intellect were now even more conspicuous than before. Not a murmer escaped his lips; conviction of his extreme illness wrought no alteration of features; he gave no expression of despondency; his tone and his manners were equally dignified, cordial, and natural. It was his happiness to be blessed with a family around him whose greatest gratification was to supply his every want, and a daughter, [the accomplished authoress of '*Rural Hours*,'] for a companion in his pursuits, who was his indefatigable amanuensis and correspondent as well as indefatigable nurse." The Doctor afterwards adds, "A life of such uniform and unparelleled excellence and service, a career so brilliant and honorable, closed in a befitting manner, and was crowned by a death of quiet resignation. Conscious of his approaching dissolution, his intelligence seemed to glow with increased fulness as his prostrated frame yielded by degrees to the last summons. It is familiarly known to his most intimate friends, that for some considerable period prior to his fatal illness, he appropriated liberal portions of his time to the investigation of scriptural truths, and that his convictions were ripe in Christian doctrines. With assurances of happiness in the future he yielded up

his spirit to the disposal of its Creator. His death, which must thus have been the beginning of a serene and more blessed life to him, is universally regarded as a national loss."

The personal appearance of Mr. COOPER was very commanding. His manly figure, high prominent forehead, clear and fine gray eyes, and royal bearing, showed the man of intelligence and determination. His literary industry and decision were truly remarkable, and their results are seen in the nearly innumerable editions of his works, in our own country, and their circulation abroad by translations into almost innumerable languages. By common consent he long occupied the highest rank in American literature, and did more to make known to the transatlantic world his country in her scenery, her aboriginal inhabitants, her history, and her characteristics, than all preceding writers. All his delineations of character are as distinct and actual as the personages who stand before us on the stage of history.

In private life, Mr. COOPER was distinguished for great benevolence, affability, and captivating powers of conversation. He has detected the thief pilfering apples from his garden, and censured him for not coming through the front gate to take what he wanted, inasmuch as secrecy might induce persons to think he was a miserly niggard, who refused to accommodate his neighbors; and was always ready to relieve the distresses of humanity and genius. He was a keen observer of men and things, and frank and emphatic in the expression of his views. Alas, that he was unwilling that any biographical memorial of him should be constructed, and that surviving friends and future generations must be content with the collection of the few facts concerning him which float on the surface of society. His friends, however, will take care that he shall not be forgotten. A meeting to testify regard to his name and character, which was intensely interesting in all its associations, was held in New York, Feb. 27, 1852. Daniel Webster occupied the chair, William Cullen Bryant delivered an eloquent and affecting commemorative address, and a large number of eminent literary gentlemen were in attendance to witness the tears of genius over one of her most favorite sons.

# PATRICK HENRY.

PATRICK HENRY was born of respectable parentage, in the county of Hanover, state of Virginia, on the 29th of May, 1736. He displayed in his youth none of those admirable qualities which, in after life, rendered him the admiration of his country, and the terror of her enemies. Deficient in early education, and deprived of the opportunities of improvement by which the powers of his mind could be developed, his genius, which was at a future period destined to shine so brilliantly, was involved in obscurity until aroused from its dormant condition, by circumstances which brought all its powerful energies into action, and displayed its vigor and splendor to his astonished associates and countrymen. Agriculture and shop keeping were successively pursued and abandoned by him. Failure attended his early career, and in whatever avocations he was engaged, or when struggling to subdue his undisciplined spirits to the useful employments of life, he seemed to be doomed to an humble and unprosperous condition. At the age of eighteen, he married a Miss Shelton. After all other means of subsistence had failed, he determined to exchange manual labor for the practice of the law, and after studying for about six weeks, obtained, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, with great difficulty, a license to practice. It was not, however, until he had reached his twenty-seventh year, that an opportunity occurred for a trial of his strength at the bar, when the powers of his unrivalled genius were exhibited in full relief, and placed him at once in the highest rank of his profession. The cause in which he first made his appearance before a court and jury, was familiarly called the *parsons' cause*, and involved a question upon which the country was very much excited; the clergy and people being arrayed in opposition. A decision of the court on a demurrer in favor of the claims of the clergy, had left nothing undetermined but the amount of damages in the cause which was pending. The counsel who had been concerned for the defendants having retired from the management of the case, Mr. HENRY was retained, and on a writ of inquiry of damages, he took advantage of the opportunity furnished of addressing the jury, to enter into a

discussion of the points which had been previously settled, and although in deviation from regular practice, succeeded by the force of his eloquence in inducing the jury to give but nominal damages. The management of the cause gained for him the most enthusiastic applause, and brought him so prominently before the public, that he became the idol of the people whom he had so efficiently served, and received the most earnest demonstrations of their admiration.

In 1764, he removed to the county of Louisa, and in the fall of that year, appeared before a committee of the house of burgesses, then sitting at Williamsburg, as counsel in the case of a contested election, and amidst the fashion and splendor of the seat of government, the rustic orator commanded attention and respect.

A wider field for the display of his eloquence was soon open to him, and as the controversy with Great Britain began to thicken, the champion of the people's rights was called into the public counsels, to rebuke the spirit of despotism, and sustain the drooping spirits of his countrymen, by an eloquence which springing from the great fountain of nature, no power could control or subdue. The seat of a member of the house of burgesses was vacated to make room for him, and in the month of May, 1765, he was elected a member. He was now destined to act among the most accomplished and distinguished men of the country. Following no other guide than his pure and patriotic spirit, and using no other instrument of action but his own matchless eloquence, he rapidly ascended to the loftiest station in the confidence and affections, both of the legislature and of the people. Taking at once a bold stand, he rallied around him the opposition, and became the envy and the terror of the aristocracy. His plebeian origin and rustic appearance were singularly contrasted with the rich veins of intellectual wealth, which the collisions of debate and party strife brought to the public view. By his almost unaided skill, he defeated the aristocracy in a favorite measure, and acquired an ascendency at the outset of his public career which enabled him to give the impress of his own undaunted spirit to the future counsels of the state. In 1765, "alone, unadvised and unassisted," he wrote on the blank leaf of an old law book the resolutions of 1765, denouncing the stamp act and asserting the rights of the people. On offering them to the legislature, they met with violent opposition, which drew from Mr. HENRY one of the most vivid and powerful efforts of his eloquence. Breasting the storm, and bidding defiance to the cries of treason, by which in vain it was attempted to silence him, he secured their adoption, and thus gave an impulse to public feeling, and a character to the

contest, which essentially aided the revolutionary cause. In the year 1767, or 1768, he removed from Louisa to his native county, and continued without intermission in public life, until after the close of the war. The higher courts engaged his attention, and although a want of familiarity with the common law, and a dislike to the forms of practice obstructed his progress, he found in the trial of criminal causes an extensive sphere for the exercise of his abilities, and the acquisition of a professional reputation.

In the assembly he continued to espouse the cause of the people, and permitted no opportunity to escape, of stimulating them and their representatives to repel the aggressions of the mother country. Prior to the commencement of hostilities, he predicted the dissolution of the connection which subsisted between her and her colonies, and the triumph of the latter.

The house of burgesses having been, in 1774, dissolved by Governor Dunmore, in consequence of their energetic opposition to tyranny, the members recommended a convention of the people to deliberate on the critical posture of affairs, and particularly to appoint delegates to a congress to be convened at Philadelphia. Mr. HENRY was elected a member of the convention, and by that body was appointed with Messrs Randolph, Lee, Washington, Bland, Harrison, and Pendleton, delegates to congress, which assembled at Carpenter's Hall, on the 4th of September. The most illustrious men of America who had been heretofore strangers, or only known to one another by fame, were now brought by the common danger which hung over their country, into the closest intercourse. The organized masses of virtue, intelligence, and genius, formed a body which attracted by its wisdom, firmness and patriotism, the admiration of mankind, and must ever reflect unfading lustre on the country whose destinies they controlled, and whose freedom they achieved. Mr. HENRY'S magical eloquence first broke the solemn silence which succeeded their organization, and in breasts so lofty and so pure, the undisciplined and untutored voice of patriotism and of native genius found a response, which sustained its boldest exertions. The impartial judgments of the greatest and most accomplished men awarded to him the highest place among orators.

Unfortunately for Mr. HENRY, he did not excel in composition, for having been placed on a committee to prepare an address to the king, he did not fulfil the expectations which his eloquence had created, and accordingly his draft was recommitted, and John Dickinson added to the committee, who reported the celebrated address which so much increased his reputation.

The Virginia convention met a second time in March, 1775, at Richmond, when Mr. HENRY brought forward a series of resolutions containing a plan for the organization of the militia. In defiance of the opposition of the ablest and most patriotic members of the convention, they were sustained by a torrent of irresistible eloquence from Mr. HENRY, who inspired the convention with a determined spirit of resistance. An opportunity soon occurred for a trial of his courage, as well as of his influence with the people. The prohibition of the exportation of powder from Great Britain, was followed by attempts to procure the possession of magazines in America, by which the colonists would be deprived of the means of defence. A large quantity of gun-powder was clandestinely removed from the colonial magazine at Williamsburg, and placed on board of armed British vessels. The excitement which it produced, extorted from the governor a promise for its return, by which public feeling was for the time appeased, but subsequent threats and rumors of fresh encroachments on the magazine, together with the irritation produced by the battles of Concord and Lexington, aroused the country to arms. The movements of the military corps was, however, arrested by the exertions of Mr. Randolph. But Mr. HENRY, determined not to submit to the aggressions of the British governor, despatched express riders to the members of the Independent Company of Hanover to meet him in arms at Newcastle. Having aroused their patriotism by all the efforts of his eloquence, by the resignation of the captain, he became the commander, and they commenced their march for Williamsburg. The country was electrified. Other companies joined the revolutionary standard of PATRICK HENRY, and at least five thousand men were in arms, rushing to his assistance. The governor issued a proclamation denouncing the movement. The greatest consternation prevailed at Williamsburg; even the patriots were alarmed, and despatched messenger after messenger to induce him to abandon the enterprise; but undaunted, he resolutely pursued his march. The governor, after making preparations for his defence, deemed it most prudent to avoid a conflict, and accordingly ordered Mr. HENRY to be met at Newcastle with a compensation in money for the powder. Another proclamation from the governor denouncing him, not only fell harmless before him, but seemed to render him an object of greater public regard. Mr. HENRY'S journey to congress, which had been interrupted by this event, was now resumed, and became, as far as the borders of Virginia, a triumphant procession.

The affair of the gun-powder brought Mr. HENRY to the notice of

the colonial convention in a military point of view, and accordingly "he was elected colonel of the first regiment, and commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defence of the colony." Having resigned his commission, he was elected a delegate to the convention which met on the 6th of May, 1776, at Williamsburg. On the 1st of July, he was elected the first republican governor of Virginia, and was continued in that station by an unanimous vote, until 1778. A wish having been expressed to reëlect him for the fourth term, he declined being a candidate, on the ground that the constitution had declared the governor to be ineligible after the third year, although an impression existed on the minds of some of the members of the legislature, that his appointment for the first year having been made prior to the adoption of that instrument, should not be counted in his term of service under it. Mr. HENRY entertaining a different opinion, communicated his views to the assembly, "that they might have the earliest opportunity of deliberating upon the choice of his successor." Few opportunities occurred for distinction during his gubernatorial career, but he appears to have performed all the duties of the station, to the satisfaction of the country, and to have retired with an increase of reputation and popularity. During the gloomiest period of the conflict for independence, a project was twice started to create a dictation, and whilst the most satisfactory evidence exists that Mr. HENRY had no participation in it, it is highly honorable to him, that the drooping spirits of his countrymen were turned to him as the safest depository of uncontrolled authority. After retiring from the executive department, Mr. HENRY became once more a representative in the assembly, and continued to enlighten the public councils by the splendor of his eloquence, and his liberal views of public policy. Among the measures which he advocated after the close of the war, the return of the British refugees, the removal of restraints on British commerce, even before the treaty by which that object was accomplished, and the improvement of the condition of the Indians, were conspicuous. On the 17th of November, 1784, he was again elected governor of Virginia. His circumstances, owing to the smallness of the salaries which he had received, and the sacrifices he had made in the public service, had become embarrassed, which induced him to retire from that station in the fall of 1786, whilst yet a year remained of his constitutional term, and also to decline accepting the appointment which was tendered to him by the legislature, of a seat in the convention to revise the constitution of the United States.

"On his resigning the government," says his accomplished biographer

Mr. Wirt, "he retired to Prince Edward county, and endeavored to cast about for the means of extricating himself from his debts. At the age of fifty years, worn down by more than twenty years of arduous service in the cause of his country, eighteen of which had been occupied by the toils and tempests of the revolution, it was natural for him to wish for rest, and to seek some secure and placid port in which he might repose himself from the fatigues of the storm. This, however, was denied him; and after having devoted the bloom of youth and the maturity of manhood to the good of his country, he had now in his old age to provide for his family." He accordingly resumed the practice of the law, in which the powers of his eloquence secured him constant employment. But it was difficult for him to abstract himself entirely from public affairs, and the formation of the constitution of the United States, respecting which he entertained most erroneous views, enlisted his feelings once more in political struggle as a member of the convention, assembled for its adoption, at Richmond, on June 2d, 1788.

Professing to be alarmed at the character and extent of the powers conferred on the federal government. Mr. HENRY exerted all his great abilities to produce its defeat. Fortunately for the country, Virginia possessed, and was enabled to bring in opposition to his constitutional views, an array of great men, who, although inferior to him in eloquence, surpassed him in knowledge, and by their combined exertions, were able to counterbalance the influence which his skill in debate, unquestionable patriotism, and long continued services, enabled him to wield. Madison, Marshall, Pendleton, Wythe, Nicholas, Randolph, Innis, and Lee,were the bulwarks of that sacred shield of liberty, the constitution of the United States, against which our patriotic orator, with his wonted vigor and matured skill, week after week, cast the darts of his stupendous eloquence. Ridicule, sarcasm, pathos, and argument were resorted to, to accomplish his object, and with untiring energy, he assailed it as a system and in detail, as the one plan or the other seemed best calculated for the purposes of the veteran tactician. He denounced it as a consolidated, instead of a confederated, government, and charged the convention by which it was framed, with an assumption of power, when, by the preamble they declared the instrument to emanate from the people of the United States, instead of the states by which they were appointed. The powers conferred on the government, were, in his opinion, dangerous to freedom, and he condemned the whole system as pregnant with

hazard, and ruinous to liberty. Mr. HENRY was combated with admirable skill, and triumphantly defeated.

His failure in the convention did not however affect his influence, and in the subsequent fall, he possessed in the assembly the confidence and popularity which had so long clung to him. He succeeded in procuring the election of candidates for the senate of the United States in opposition to those nominated by his antagonists; and also in procuring the adoption of a series of resolutions favorable to a convention of the states to alter the constitution, which had been so recently adopted. In the spring of 1791, he declined a reëlection to the assembly, with the view of retiring altogether from public life. Necessity compelled him to continue the practice of the law, and in the fall of that year, he argued before the circuit court of the United States the celebrated case of the British debts, with an eloquence and professional ability which extorted the admiration of the bench, and the crowded audience which his great reputation had assembled. Such was the curiosity to hear him, that a quorum of the legislature could not be obtained, and a large concourse were subjected to disappointment by the multitude which thronged the court room. For three days he riveted the attention of a promiscuous audience, whilst discussing the usually uninteresting details of complicated law points. His success in the practice of the law was eminently distinguished, and being relieved by the assistance of other counsel from the necessity of turning his attention to such branches of the practice as were unsuitable to him, his genius had ample scope to range in the direction most congenial to it.

In the year 1796, he was once more elected governor of Virginia, which he declined. He also refused to accept the embassy to Spain, which was offered to him during the administration of Washington, and that to France, to which he was appointed by Mr. Adams. His declining health and advanced age, rendered retirement more desirable to him than ever; but prior to the close of his earthly career, he was induced to forego the comforts and peace of domestic life, to embark in the stormy conflicts of political controversy. Believing that the democratic party in Virginia were yielding to passion, and advocating principles hostile to the safety of the country, and opposed to the constitution of the United States, Mr. HENRY espoused the cause of that instrument, the adoption of which he had so strenuously resisted. The Virginia resolutions of 1798 filled him with alarm, and although subsequent events have shown that the authors of them did not harbor intentions hostile to the union, Mr. HENRY firmly believed that he

saw in their train the most ruinous consequences. He presented himself at the spring election of 1799, at the county of Charlotte, as a candidate for the house of delegates, and in an eloquent address to the people, expressed his alarm at the conduct of the party opposed to the national administration, his belief that their measures were not in accordance with the constitution, and his determination to support that instrument. He reminded them of his opposition to it on the very grounds that the powers which they were then condemning, were conferred, denied the right of a state to decide on the validity of federal laws, and declared his firm belief, that the destruction of the constitution would be followed by the total loss of liberty.

His usual success attended him, and he was elected. His health, however, yielded to the disease with which he had been afflicted for two years, and he expired on the 6th of June, 1799.

Mr. HENRY was twice married, and was the parent of fifteen children, eleven of whom survived him. In domestic life, he was conspicuous for his simplicity, frankness, and morality. Without ostentation, his retirement was enlivened by the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the stores of practical knowledge which a long career in public life had enabled him to accumulate. He was a firm Christian, and devoted much of his time in the concluding years of his life to reading works on religion. Temperate in his habits, indulgent to his children, and rigid in his morals, there was but little in his conduct for detraction to act upon. The charge of apostacy was made against him on account of his determination to sustain the constitution of the United States, which he had so strongly opposed; but when we reflect upon the incalculable blessings which it has showered upon the country, and how triumphantly it has refuted, by its practical operations, the objections which were made to it, we cannot but admire the frank and honorable conduct of the patriotic orator, who did not hesitate to sustain a system which experience must have convinced him he had erroneously opposed. The eloquence of Mr. HENRY has been attested by evidence to which every American will yield conviction. Unrivalled in its influence, it was one of the causes of the independence of the country: the remembrance of it deserves to be perpetuated to after ages, as one of the most striking characteristics of the contest for freedom. In recurring to the events of that struggle, with the virtues, patriotism, and heroism for which it was conspicuous, will ever be associated in grateful remembrance, the impetuous, patriotic, and irresistible eloquence of PATRICK HENRY.

# JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the late distinguished orator of the South, was born March 18th, 1782, in Abbeville district, South Carolina His grandfather, James Calhoun, emigrated with his family from Ireland, and settled, in 1733, in Pennsylvania. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was then six years old. Several years afterwards the family removed to the western part of Virginia; but, upon Braddock's defeat, the settlement was broken up, and they went to South Carolina, where, in 1756, they established themselves in a place which was called "Calhoun's settlement." Here the Cherokees, their immediate neighbors, very soon attacked them. The struggle was violent. Half the males, and among them, the eldest brother, James Calhoun, who commanded on the occasion, fell; and, after the defeat, their aged mother, with several of the other females and many of the children, were butchered by the savages. Patrick Calhoun, who displayed daring courage, was immediately appointed by the provincial government to command a body of rangers for the defence of the frontier, and showed himself worthy of the station. Upon the conclusion of peace, the family, which had been dispersed, re-occupied their "settlement."

In 1770, Patrick Calhoun was married to Martha Caldwell, of Charlotte county, Virginia, niece of the Rev. James Caldwell, of New Jersey, a presbyterian divine, who stood prominent in the revolutionary war. The issue of this marriage were four sons and one daughter, of whom the subject of this memoir was the youngest but one, and as a tribute of respect to the memory of his uncle, Major John Caldwell, a zealous whig, who had been inhumanly butchered by the tories, he received the name of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

Both parents were exemplary for piety and virtue. The father was a hardy and enterprising pioneer; but unlike most of that class, he placed a high value upon education. Though he was entirely self-taught, and lived the greater part of his life on the frontier, surrounded by danger, he made himself an excellent English scholar, and an accurate and skilful surveyor, which profession he long fol-

lowed. He was the first member ever elected to the provincial legislature from the interior of South Carolina. Of this body, and the state legislature, after the revolution, he continued a member for thirty years without intermission, except for a single term, until his death, in 1796. He was a zealous whig, and a disinterested patriot. He opposed the adoption of the federal constitution on the ground that it conferred rights on Congress incompatible with the sovereignty of the states.

At thirteen years of age young CALHOUN was placed at the academy of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Waddel, since so distinguished, as a teacher, in the Southern states. The death of his father, however, interrupted his studies, and the academy ceased for a time. He continued to reside with Dr. Waddel, and made ample use of a circulating library, of which his brother-in law was librarian. Hither he resorted instinctively, and without any direction, passing over lighter, and, to persons of his age, usually more alluring literature, fixed his attention upon history. With such unremitting industry did he labor, that he is said to have read, in the course of fourteen weeks, Rollin's Ancient History, Robertson's Charles V. and America, Voltaire's Charles XII., the large edition of Cooke's Voyages, the first volume of Locke on the Human Understanding, and several smaller works. Under this severe application, in which his meals and rest were neglected, his eyes were injured, his countenance grew pallid, and his whole frame became emaciated. His mother, alarmed for his health, took him home; where separation from books, air and exercise very soon reinstated him; and to his love of books, succeeded, by a natural transition, a passion for the sports of the country. Though the progress of his education was now arrested, yet his new manner of life laid the foundation of a vigorous constitution, and he contracted, also, that fondness for agriculture, which has distinguished so many illustrious names.

In the midst of family arrangements, and in consequence of his growing attachment to agricultural pursuits, JOHN had abandoned all thought of his former studies, when his brother James, who had been placed in a counting house in Charleston, returned home to spend the summer of 1800, and was so struck with his capacity, that he importuned him to turn his attention at once to a classical education, though it was not till after great persuasion, that he yielded to his brother's judgment, Accordingly he proceeded to Dr. Waddel's academy, which had been reöpened in Columbia county, Georgia, where, in 1800, he may properly be said to have begun, at the age

of eighteen, a classical education. Here his progress was so rapid, that he was enabled to join the junior class at Yale college in the autumn of 1802.

In that institution he took a high grade in all the studies; but, though he did not want imagination and taste, he was peculiarly distinguished by the depth and quickness of his intellect. He differed widely from Dr. Dwight, the eminent individual, who presided over the college, in political opinions, and, although they had frequent discussions, they were always of a friendly character. It is related that in the course of a recitation in Paley's Philosophy, the Doctor expressed a doubt, "whether the consent of the governed, was the only just origin of legitimate government?" This caused an animated debate between him and his pupil which held the class in delighted suspense till dinner, in the course of which the student evinced such depth of thought, and such power of argument and eloquence, that his celebrated preceptor predicted his future rise. "That young man," he said to a friend, "has talents enough to be president of the United States."

Just four years after commencing the Latin grammar, he graduated with the highest honors, at the head of a large and talented class, but was prevented by sickness from delivering his oration, the subject of which was "The qualifications necessary to a perfect statesman."

After enrolling himself, on his return home, a student of law with H. W. Desaussure, he returned to New England, and entered the Litchfield law school, where for eighteen months under the Judges Reeve and Gould, he made great advancement. The morning was devoted to law, the rest of the day to general literature and political science, and he cultivated with especial care, extemporaneous speaking. It was in the debating society of this place, where the most agitating political topics of the day were discussed before crowded meetings, that Mr. CALHOUN who was ever the champion of the republican side, first developed his great powers of parliamentary debate. It was his custom, even then, to prepare by reflection, and not by arranging on paper, what he meant to say, nor by taking notes of the arguments of others. A good memory preserved the order of his own thoughts, and a wonderful power of analysis and classification enabled him to digest rapidly, and distribute in their proper places, the answer and refutation of all the arguments of the speakers, however numerous, whom he followed.

In 1806, he returned to South Carolina, and in 1807 commenced,

in his native district, a lucrative practice, ranking, from the very outset, with the most eminent lawyers in his circuit. An incident occurred about this time, which brought him into distinguished notice. The affair of the Chesapeake had just created great excitement throughout the south: a meeting of the people was called at Abbeville court house, and Mr. CALHOUN was one of the committee appointed to draft an address and resolutions. He was requested also to address the meeting. The day arrived—the assembly was large. It was his first appearance before the public, and trying as was the situation, he acquitted himself in a manner that excited enthusiastic approbation. Soon after he was proposed as a candidate for the next legislature, and in spite of a prejudice which for years had prevented the election of a lawyer, he was chosen by an overwhelming majority. Here, during two successive sessions, he took the lead in every matter of importance, and eminently distinguished himself for that political foresight and sagacity, for which he has ever been so remarkable.

He took his seat in congress in the autumn of 1811, at the commencement of the first session of the twelfth congress, having been elected by a vast majority to represent the district composed of Abbeville, Newberry, and Laurens. His reputation had preceded him, and he was placed at once second on the committee of foreign affairs, which was at that juncture the most important. An able report, on which the discussions of the session chiefly turned, recommended an immediate appeal to arms, and Mr. CALHOUN'S first effort in congress was, in sustaining the measures recommended, to reply to a most able and eloquent speech of John Randolph, also a member of the committee, and one of the most sagacious opponents and powerful orators, which this or any country ever boasted. Public excitement was strong, the house crowded, and the orator, rising with the greatness of the occasion, delivered a speech, which, for lofty patriotism, cogent reasoning, and soul-stirring eloquence, has seldom been equalled. It met unbounded and universal applause. He was compared to "one of the old sages of the old congress, with the graces of youth," and the "young Carolinian" was hailed as "one of the master spirits, who stamp their name upon the age in which they live."

Early in the session General Porter retired from congress, and Mr. CALHOUN was placed at the head of the committee on foreign relations, which committee, in addition to their appropriate duties, were called upon to report bills to carry into effect the military pre-

parations they had recommended. Thus, by circumstances, as well as by preëminent ability, was he at this early period at the head of the party in the house of representatives, which sustained the war with England.

It was at this momentous period he delivered one of his best speeches, from which a short passage may be here extracted, as well because it evinced his profound and philosophical character of mind, as the independence of spirit, which could not in all cases, submit to the trammels of party, and led him to differ, in common with his able and virtuous colleague, Lowndes, from the administration, on the subject of the restrictive system and the navy. In speaking of the embargo, he says,—"I object to the restrictive system because it does not suit the genius of the people, nor that of the government, nor the geographical character of our country. We are a people essentially active. I may say we are preëminently so. No passive system can suit such a people; in action superior to all others; in patient endurance inferior to many. Nor does it suit the genius of our government. Our government is founded on freedom, and hates coercion. To make the restrictive system effective, requires the most arbitrary laws. England, with the severest statutes, has not been able to exclude prohibited articles; and Napoleon, with all his power and vigilance, was obliged to resort to the most barbarous laws to enforce his continental system. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its own courage, its fortitude, its skill, and virtue, for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endowed with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance; he is not encrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for defence. No, sir, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind; it is these that render man the lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition that nations rise above nations as they are endowed in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

To trace Mr. CALHOUN'S course or to recount his services during the war, would fill a volume. It is sufficient to say that in the leading position of chairman of the committee of foreign relations, in a complication of adverse circumstances, during the gloom of that contest, calculated to overwhelm the feeble and appal the stoutest, against a weight and ardor of opposition unknown to the congress of the revolution, he never faltered, never doubted, never despaired

of the republic; but by his genius and wisdom, patriotism and unshaken firmness, he rose conspicuous in the constellation of talents which distinguished both sides, and arousing his countrymen to action by the most animating strains of eloquence, made himself the chief support of the "second war of independence," and finally triumphed in the sunshine of glory which burst upon his country at its termination.

At this period the army, the navy, and the revenue had grown beyond the wants of peace, and the currency was deranged beyond all former example, except at the close of the war of the revolution. These subjects gave birth to momentous questions. Of them the first was the military peace establishment, about which there was great diversity of opinion. Mr. CALHOUN contended that a small peace establishment was most congenial with the institutions of the country, and that the great point was to have it permanent and well organized, an object which he afterwards effectually accomplished while secretary of war.

The other important subjects were deferred till the following session, when Mr. CALHOUN was placed at the head of the committee on currency. Events which took place at the preceding session, had designated him for the place, as he had then successfully resisted the project of a non-specie-paying bank, (devised principally with a view to enable the government to raise loans for the prosecution of the war,) under the conviction that such a bank, by reason of those loans, would on the return of peace be enlisted against the resumption of specie payments, and that its influence united with that of the state banks would defeat the efforts of congress to re-establish a sound currency. He believed that it was intended by the constitution, to place the currency under the control of the general government, and that the power over it was delegated to congress, and *was not a right reserved to the states.* Nothing could exceed the derangement of the currency at the termination of the war, when that power was exclusively exercised by the states, and the notes of banks incorporated by them which could not be converted into specie, and were depreciated according to circumstances from one to twenty per cent., constituted the currency in which the public dues were collected, the public creditors paid, and the moneyed transactions of the country carried on. After a full examination of the various remedies proposed for so fearful a disease, which threatened the union itself, it was believed by the committee, that the only practicable means of restoring a sound currency, and plac-

ing it under the constitutional control of the general government, was the establishment of a bank of sufficient capital on sound principles, bound to redeem its notes in cash, which, by its influence and aid, would at once compel and assist the state banks to return to specie payments. A bill in conformity with this belief, was reported by Mr. CALHOUN, and with such forcible arguments did he sustain it; so clearly did he demonstrate the unconstitutional condition of the currency; so manifestly did he prove its danger and injustice, and that there was no other feasible remedy in the power of the house, that in spite of the opposing influence of the state banks, the constitutional scruples of many of the members, and the resistance of a number of the leaders of the opposition, he succeeded in effecting the passage of the bill, though it was well ascertained that a decided majority was opposed to it at its introduction. Of this powerful speech, nothing remains but an imperfect skeleton.

Beside the revenue bill, which gave rise to a debate on the state of the union, involving a discussion of the policy of the country in time of peace, in which Mr. CALHOUN made one of the most splendid displays of parliamentary eloquence ever exhibited before congress; other important subjects arose during the session, in all which he took a prominent part. But the lofty course pursued by him in regard to the "famous compensation law," very strongly marks his character, and may, perhaps, be best judged of, from the following eulogium pronounced by a strong political opponent. Mr. Grosvenor said "he had heard with peculiar satisfaction, the able, manly, and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina." Here Mr. Grosvenor, recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose during the war—paused a moment, and then proceeded,—"Mr. Speaker, I will not be restrained—no barrier shall exist, which I will not leap over, for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent, and national course which he has pursued in the house for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular applause may not cheer him on the way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

In December, 1817, Mr. CALHOUN was appointed by Mr. Monroe to the office of secretary of war. Here was a new theatre; his con-

gressional career of six years had been brilliant; as a legislator and as an orator he stood on a proud elevation before his country, and now his capacity for administration was to be tested. Such was the deranged state of the department, the vast accumulation of its business, and its imperfect organization, that many friends dissuaded him from occupying a post of so much danger. Space will not permit even a sketch of the history of his administration of the war department during seven years. He found it, in all its branches, in confusion, and left it in complete order. He found upwards of forty millions of dollars of unsettled accounts, which he reduced to less than three millions, and he completely prevented all further accumulation by the unexampled exactness of accountability which he introduced into every branch of the disbursements, and in consequence of which he was enabled to report to congress in 1823, that, "of the entire amount of money drawn from the treasury in 1822, for the military service, including pensions, amounting to four million five hundred and seventy-one thousand nine hundred and sixty one dollars and ninety-four cents, although it passed through the hands of two hundred and ninety-one disbursing agents, there had not been a single defalcation, nor the loss of a cent to the government; and that he had reduced the expense of the army from four hundred and fifty-one dollars per man, to two hundred and eighty-seven dollars, and thereby saved to the country annually more than one million three hundred thousand dollars.

It is to be remembered that all this was effected under adverse circumstances; when Mr. CALHOUN, who had been brought forward as a candidate for the presidency, had to encounter misrepresentations, and a violent opposition to almost every measure he proposed for the improvement of the department. In fact it is only by the perfect order and system brought into the department, that it is possible to explain how Mr. CALHOUN found time for preparing his numerous reports, which are not surpassed in ability by our ablest public documents, particularly those on our Indian affairs, internal improvements, and the reduction of the army; for the despatch of the immense mass of unsettled accounts of the war; for the examination of the claims for revolutionary pensions; the thorough resuscitation of the military academy; the establishment of discipline and rigid economy in the army; a complete reörganization, which gave us, at the expense of a force of six thousand men, so officered as to be capable of prompt enlargement, a peace establishment having the military capacity, and defensive power of thirty thousand; the sur-

vey of our maritime frontier; the institution of a system of permanent fortifications for our coasts; the establishment of a cordon of military posts, stretching from the upper lakes around our western frontier; and, finally, for his duties as a leading and influential member of Mr. Monroe's able and enlightened cabinet.

In the second term of Mr. Monroe's presidency, the question of the choice of a successor agitated the country, and Mr. CALHOUN's name was brought forward with those of four other distinguished candidates. Events had turned the controversy, so far as he was concerned, more particularly between his friends and those of Mr. Crawford, on the subject of a congressional *caucus*, as the means of designating the chief magistrate. Mr. CALHOUN believing that, in consequence of the great increase of the patronage of the government, it was dangerous to place thus in the power of the president, the choice of his successor, through his influence over the members of congress, took a decided stand against it. In the progress of the canvass, Mr. CALHOUN's name was withdrawn so as to strengthen the probability of a choice by the people, and consequently to lessen the hazard of the election being devolved upon the house of representatives. The contest terminated in returning General Jackson, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Crawford as the three highest candidates to the house, and the election of Mr. CALHOUN by a large majority of the people as vice-president. We cannot dwell on the events which succeeded. During the whole canvass Mr. CALHOUN bore very kind personal and political relations with both the leading candidates; but acting on the principle which had placed him in opposition to a congressional caucus, he did not hesitate to avow his opinion that the members of the house, in discharging the high duties devolved on them, ought to act in reference and subordination to the will of the people. He was necessarily, therefore, placed in the opposition, which at the end of the term, overthrew the administration, and terminated in the election of General Jackson as president, and the reëlection of himself as vice-president.

It is admitted that Mr. CALHOUN conferred upon the vice-presidency a dignity and character worthy of the station. His decisions gave universal satisfaction with one exception, the circumstances of which were remarkable, viz., his decision in regard to the power of the vice-president, as presiding officer of the senate, to call a senator to order *for words spoken in debate.* The senate at no period had been in such a state of excitement. Mr. CALHOUN was known to be opposed to the administration. It was the first case which had

occurred, and the principle on which the decision rested was novel. The constitution gives each house the power of establishing its rules of proceeding, and there existed at this time no rule in the senate which gave the vice-president the power in question. Accordingly, while those who took the opposite view contended that the vice-president possessed this power inherently under the constitution, as the presiding officer of the body, Mr. CALHOUN decided that as the rules did not confer the power, either expressly or by implication, he did not possess it, believing if he possessed it under the constitution there could be no appeal to the senate, and the freedom of debate in that body would depend upon the pleasure of an officer who held his place independent of it. Satisfied with the correctness of his decision, Mr. CALHOUN evinced not the slightest impatience at the clamor which followed. He calmly and confidently left his conduct to abide the result of cooler, and more mature investigation. The result has proved that a good cause may be left to the quiet operation of time. After the lapse of two years, the senate, without any movement of his friends took up the subject, and after a full examination and discussion, Mr. CALHOUN'S decision received the deliberate sanction of that body.

In a work like that before the reader, it is neither desirable or necessary to give even a succinct narrative of Mr. CALHOUN'S course as connected with public events, and accordingly we pass over the measures adopted by General Jackson on his accession to power, the position in which Mr. CALHOUN was placed in relation to him politically in consequence of those measures, the rupture of their political and private relations, the correspondence to which it gave rise, the character of that correspondence, and the vindication of his own conduct which it contains. We pass over all these and come to that portion of his political life which his friends confidently believe will hereafter be the most distinguished, and will most strongly mark his character with posterity. We mean that which followed the passage of the tariff of 1828, and the part which he felt himself compelled to take in resistance to what he considered an unconstitutional and oppressive act, in order to arrest a course of events which he clearly perceived, at that early period, would grow out of the measure, and which he was under a deep conviction would terminate, if not arrested, in the destruction of the liberty and the constitution of the country, or in the dissolution of the union. Apprehending, from what he saw in the passage of the tariff act of 1828, that the expectations of the friends of an equal system of benefits

and burdens in reference to the protective system, and a thorough reformation of the government and restoration of the constitution to its primitive principles, which he deemed necessary to the preservation of the country, could not be realized in any other way, he turned his attention from that time to *the sovereignty of the states and their reserved rights* as the only certain means of effecting these objects, the salvation of our institutions, and of the union. The result was, that view of our system which recognizes in each state, as a sovereign party to the political compact, a right to declare an act of congress, which it believes to be unconstitutional, to be null and void, and of course not obligatory upon its citizens, and to arrest the execution of such an act within its limits. This doctrine, which was rendered so unpopular under the name of *nullification*, is maintained to be clearly contained in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, and is more fully stated and carried out in the discussions to which it gave rise in the controversy between South Carolina and the general government. In these discussions the papers prepared by Mr. CALHOUN, constitute a striking part.

The first of these papers attributed to him, is the exposition of the South Carolina legislature in the session of 1828, in which a full and very original view is taken of the relations between the states and the general government, and the operation of the protective system as affecting unequally the two great sections of the union. This was followed, in 1830, by a statement drawn up by Mr. CALHOUN, containing his opinion on the relations between the state and the general government, in deference to public opinion, which seemed to demand an exposition of his views on a subject which then began so deeply to agitate the country. The open avowal of doctrines then considered by many as little short of treason, which he knew would separate him from many of his political friends, on a conviction of duty, and without regard to the effect it would have upon his popularity, required a firmness of purpose and a deep and solemn sense of duty which few possessed. Subsequently, at Governor Hamilton's request, he addressed him a letter in which the subject is more amply discussed, and which acquired for Mr. CALHOUN a reputation for ability and candor even among those who did not approve his doctrine.

The payment of the public debt, without a satisfactory adjustment of the tariff, brought on a crisis which will long be remembered. South Carolina carried out her doctrine; a convention of the people was called in their sovereign capacity, and the protective acts declared unconstitutional and therefore void, and no law. At the call of his

state, Mr. CALHOUN resigned his office of vice-president of the United States, and was elected senator in congress, and took his seat in that body to defend her cause, which he believed to be the cause of liberty and the constitution. His re-appearance, after so many years, on the floor of a deliberative body, was under circumstances the most trying that can be conceived. He and his colleague stood almost alone. The cause was universally unpopular, and regarded as synonymous with disunion and treason. Under these circumstances, with all the disadvantage of not having spoken in a public assembly for more than sixteen years, he had to meet the joint array of the talents, both of the administration, and of the opposition.

In this trying juncture he acquitted himself so well, that the tide of public opinion which so strongly set against him at the beginning of the session turned in his favor, and those not convinced by his arguments, felt at least a conviction of his sincerity, integrity, and patriotism. The contest was mainly between Mr. CALHOUN and the distinguished senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Webster, the principal point in issue between whom was finally reduced to the naked question, whether our constitution is, or is not a *compact* between the states, the latter admitting that *if* it be a compact, the doctrines contended for by the former followed as necessary consequences. Mr. CALHOUN'S conduct gave entire satisfaction to his constituents, and paved the way for the eventual success of the principles of free trade.

It is not possible that we can here fully describe the labors or the speeches of Mr. CALHOUN on the subjects of the bank, the repeal of the force bill, the reception of petitions on the abolition of slavery, the public lands, the treasury law, the tariff, the Ashburton treaty, and many other subjects, up to the time of the resignation of his seat in the senate, in 1843. Neither can we discuss his conduct in reference to the annexation of Texas, after he had been called by President Tyler to the high office of secretary of state, made vacant by the calamitous death of Mr. Upshur. Nor does it comport with our plan to expatiate on his resignation of that office, his declinature of a mission to England, or his return to the senate as the result of the earnest desires of the whole South. These, and his final labors on the subject of slavery, are all too well known to need that another line should be added to this sketch of his leading actions as a politician. It has been well said that his public acts need not be detailed, for they will be woven into the history of the nation; nor need we enumerate his orations, for they have become a portion of American literature.

A life of vigorous and incessant labor might well bring Mr. CALHOUN

at sixty-eight into a state of rapid decay. The slavery question was the last subject which occupied his public life, and his last attempt was made in seeking an alteration of the constitution on this subject. He had an unconquerable dread that the South would be driven to secede from the Union. He was compelled to retire from the senate hall to die. His friends visited him to see how intense and earnest thought had brought down the frail body to ruin and death.

Dr. John B. Calhoun, who is an eminent physician, was in constant attendance on his honored father for several weeks previous to his death, and was kindly aided by the almost filial friendship of many of the most eminent members of the profession. On the 30th of March, 1850, it could no longer be doubted that the hours of the great statesman were numbered; but though more restless and weak than he had ever before been, he sat up about two hours during the day, and talked on the topic which absorbed his mind. Soon after midnight, his breath became so heavy as to alarm his son, and his pulse was very low, but he refused to take any more stimulants; at about two o'clock, he called his son, to whom he held out his arm, and remarked that there was no pulsation at the wrist. He gave several directions as to his watch and papers, and in reply to an inquiry, said, "I am perfectly comfortable." These were his last words. Shortly before six o'clock on the morning of the 31st, he made a sign to his son to approach his bed; and extending his hand, he grasped that of his son, looked him intently in the face, and moved his lips, but was unable to articulate. Other friends were summoned to his bed-side, who saw him perfectly conscious of his condition, his eyes retained their brightness, and his countenance its natural expression. Thus he drew a deep inspiration, his eyes closed, and his spirit passed calmly to its home.

Judge Butler, his friend and colleague, impressively announced his death in the senate; and affecting addresses were also made by his great rivals in talents and fame, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. On the 2d of April, the funeral ceremonies were performed; and his remains, accompanied by a committee of the senate, were conveyed to Charleston, where a whole people met them in tears. His body was committed to the dust, but the creations of his mighty mind yet live to bless his country, and to call forth its gratitude.

Mr. Calhoun was married in May, 1811, to a cousin, Miss Floride Calhoun, the daughter of John Ewing Calhoun, formerly a senator in congress, from South Carolina. They had a numerous family. Mrs. Calhoun survived her husband, and was much admired for the quiet, unassuming, but dignified ease of her manners, and is remembered with

affection and regret, by the private circles of Washington, once adorned by her presence, but from which she also has been forever withdrawn by the hand of death.

As a man, Mr. CALHOUN presented a tall and commanding person, slender but firm; his features were singularly harsh and angular, so that Harriet Martineau described him as the cast iron man, "who looked as if he had never been born;" his forehead was broad, tolerably high and compact, denoting the mass of brain behind it; and his eyes, which presented the most striking peculiarity about him, were large, brilliant, and dark blue in color. When in repose he seemed unfeeling, or at least lost in abstraction; but when excited, the fire of genius blazed from his eye, and every feature showed thought and character strongly defined. He had none of the cautious reserve and mystery of common politicians; but was accessible, instructive and eloquent in his conversation. Until he had passed his grand climacteric, he wore his hair tolerably short, and brushed it back so that it stood erect on the top of his head, as in our portrait, but towards the close of his life he allowed it to grow long, and to fall in heavy masses over his temples.

"His character," says Mr. Jenkins, his biographer, "was marked and decided, not prematurely exhibiting its peculiarities, yet formed and perfected at an early age. He was firm and prompt, manly and independent. His sentiments were noble and elevated, and everything mean or groveling was foreign to his nature. He was easy in his manners, and affable and dignified. His attachments were warm and enduring; he did not manifest his affection with enthusiastic fervor, but with deep earnestness and sincerity. He was kind, generous and charitable; honest and frank; faithful to his friends, but somewhat inclined to be unforgiving to his enemies. He was attached to his principles and prejudices with equal tenacity; and when he had adopted an opinion, so strong was his reliance upon the correctness of his own judgment, that he often doubted the wisdom and sincerity of those who disagreed with him. He never shrunk from the performance of any duty, however painful it might be,—that it was a duty, was sufficient for him. He possessed pride of character in no ordinary degree, and, withal not a little vanity, which is said always to accompany true genius. His devotion to the South was not sectional, so much as it was the natural consequence of his views with reference to the theory of the government; and his patriotism, like his fame, was coëxtensive with the Union."

In all his domestic relations the life of Mr. CALHOUN was without a

blemish. His habits, like those of most truly great men, were all simple. When at home, he was an early riser, and, if the weather allowed, took a walk over his farm. He breakfasted at half past seven, and then retired to his study, and wrote till three. After dinner he read or conversed with his family till sunset, then he took another walk till eight o'clock, when he took tea, and passed the time in conversation or reading, and at ten, retired to rest. His social qualities were endearing and highly fascinating, especially to young people.

As an orator, he stood in the first rank of parliamentary speakers. On first rising in debate, he seemed to feel the anxiety of diffidence which is almost always the companion of genius. He usually began in a manner calm and impressive, but was soon roused, and became energetic, stern, erect, and loud, showing the power of a giant. His voice was shrill, and his eyes glistened like coals of fire. A steady flow of words came from his lips, and intense earnestness marked his delivery. In listening to him, every one felt that he was sincere, so that it was impossible to hear him without being moved. His mind was amply stored with the fruits of learning, but still more with those of observation and reflection; hence originality, depth, and power characterized all his efforts.

As a statesman, in the most enlarged and elevated sense of the term, he had no superior. His course was independent and high minded. Principles were regarded by him as practical things; he was firm in adhering to them, and fearless in attacking error. He was no mere theorist, but clearly foresaw results; not given to change, nor fond of startling novelties. To the highest intellectual powers, he united those elevated moral qualities which are as important as talent itself to complete the character of a statesman—inflexible integrity, honor without a stain, disinterestedness, temperance and industry. He had a firmness of purpose which disdained to calculate the consequences of doing his duty. "I never know," he would say, "what South Carolina thinks of a measure. I never consult her. If she approves, well and good. If she does not, or wishes any one else to take my place, I am ready to vacate. We are even." In a word, Mr. CALHOUN always showed prudence and energy in action, devotion to his country, and an inextinguishable love of liberty and justice.

A writer in the "*Gallery of Illustrious Americans*" says, "Three obstacles have lain between this great man and the presidency. The first has been the earnest and unconquerable independence of his character, which has left him without a national party. The second, has

been the incorruptible integrity of his heart, which left him without intrigue or policy. The last, has been an obstacle still more formidable in this disturbed and feverish age—the philosphical sublimity of his genius. He was not made to sway masses, but mind. He could not carry the hearts of the multitude by storm, but he electrified the souls of the few." To this Mr. Jenkins replies, "that the first two contributed to this result is highly probable, but if by that other quality is meant an elevation of his genius entirely above the comprehension of the multitude, it is unjust to his character. He possessed no such transcendental faculty or attribute. Truth, in its simplicity and beauty, as Mr. CALHOUN presented it, goes home to every heart. He was understood and appreciated by the masses. He was popular with the people, but not with the politicians."

It is pleasant to add to this memoir, that attachment on the part of the constituents of Mr. CALHOUN never lessened. South Carolina wished not to change her senator for a younger man; but felt that his matured experience, his ripened wisdom, and a soul which no age could chill, sustained his patriotism, and gave weight to his counsels. May her conduct ever be imitated by our countrymen at large.

# WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

This patriotic citizen has contributed towards the history of the United States, two volumes of "Memoirs of the American Revolution." As these relate principally to events which occurred in South Carolina within his own knowledge, they are invaluable as authentic records. On their authority, we shall briefly describe the situation of South Carolina at the commencement of the revolution, and the measures adopted by her patriotic citizens of those days, when they made common cause with the other colonists in defence of *their* violated rights.

Settled at a much later period than the eastern colonies, the greatest evils Carolina had endured, originated from the anomalous characters of the first settlers; English puritans and cavaliers, French huguenots, and others; which led to constant disputes amongst themselves; and from the unjust and arbitrary manner in which the government was administered by the proprietaries. Whilst the colonists of New England clung to their charters, as the palladium of their liberties, those of South Carolina sought relief by an appeal to the throne;—by renouncing the proprietary government; and by establishing one of their own in the name of the king. This took place in 1719, and from that time until the revolution, the government was administered by a royal governor, and their laws enacted by a provincial assembly. The proprietary government had been not only unjust, but impolitic; it left the colonists to contend against the Indians and the Spaniards at their own expense, which discouraged emigration, and impover ished the country, by continually draining it of its resources; at the same time, it exercised a most arbitrary and illegal power, by repealing the laws which the general assembly of the colony had thought necessary for its preservation and defence. The consequence was, that more than fifty years after its first settlement, the whole white population of South Carolina did not exceed fifty thousand; and "the face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernible amidst the immense forest." But

under the royal government, the population rapidly increased, the country was explored and cultivated, and wealth, and a comparative degree of ease and freedom, were enjoyed.

South Carolina did not then, become a party in the great contest, so much from any local grievance or special cause of complaint, as from a high, chivalrous impulse, and a firm conviction of the correctness of the principle, "that the colonies were entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money."

The first advance towards a continental union was made by Massachusetts, in 1765, it was seconded by South Carolina, and in October of that year, delegates from nine of the provinces assembled in New-York, and agreed to a declaration of rights, and a statement of grievances.

After the passage of the celebrated bill for shutting up the port of Boston, the inhabitants of that town appealed to the "sister colonies." The appeal was promptly answered by South Carolina, and delegates were appointed to the congress which assembled in Philadelphia on the fifth of September, 1774. When the delegates had returned to Charleston, and reported the serious character of the dispute with Great Britain, the general committee determined to call a provincial congress. In every parish and district, representatives were elected to meet in Charleston on the eleventh of January, 1775. In a few days, they approved the bill of rights, as declared by the continental congress,—agreed to the American association, and recommended the inhabitants to be diligent in learning the use of arms. Amongst many other decisive and patriotic measures, they resolved unanimously, that any person who should take, or act under any commission in any wise derived from the act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which was preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, had given to America. Still, hopes of a reconciliation were entertained, until the news of the battle of Lexington was received; from that moment there was no hesitation as to the course to be pursued. The provincial congress was again called together on the first of June. "At this summons," says General Moultrie, "the people were greatly alarmed, and their minds much agitated; they saw that war was inevitable; and that it was to be with that country which first planted them in America, and raised them to maturity, a country with which they were connected by consanguinity, by

custom, and by manners; by religion, by laws, and by language; a country that they had always been taught to respect, and to consider as amongst the first in the world. A rich and powerful nation, with immense fleets, and experienced admirals, sailing triumphantly over the ocean; with large armies and able generals in many parts of the globe: this great nation we dared to oppose, without money, without arms, without ammunition; no generals, no armies, no admirals, and no fleets; this was our situation when the contest began." On the first day of the meeting of the provincial congress, "they determined upon a defensive war; and the fourth day it was resolved to raise two regiments of five hundred men each." Of the second of these regiments, WILLIAM MOULTRIE was appointed colonel, on the 17th of June, 1775; (the same day on which was fought the battle of Bunker Hill,) and from that time he was constantly engaged in the discharge of a succession of active and arduous duties. In September, a detachment from this regiment took possession of Fort Johnson, and the council of safety ordered him to have a flag made, ("as there was no national or state flag at that time,") upon which, as the state troops were clothed in blue, and wore a silver crescent in front of their caps, he had a large blue flag made, with a crescent in the dexter corner, and "that was the first American flag displayed in South Carolina."

There was at the time a sloop of war laying off Charleston, which excited constant vigilance and uneasiness, lest the town or the fort should be attacked. General MOULTRIE in his memoirs, frequently notices how highly they were impressed with the mighty power of a British man-of-war. When, therefore, the flag was hoisted on the fort, it alarmed the timid. "They said it had the appearance of a declaration of war, and the captain of the Tamer would look upon it as an insult and a flag of defiance; but he knew his own force and kept his station." The Cherokee sloop of war soon afterwards joined the Tamer, and blockaded the harbor of Charleston, and annoyed the provincials exceedingly by enticing the negroes to run away and form a camp on Sullivan's Island. On the 19th of December, on a very dark and cold night, Colonel MOULTRIE, with a number of gentlemen, and two hundred soldiers, embarked from Charleston to erect a battery at Haddrell's Point, so as to drive off the men-of-war;—by daylight they were well covered, and in a few hours laid their platforms, mounted some guns, and opened their embrasures. The men-of-war immediately moved further off, and left the cove and Sullivan's Island under the command of the American batteries.

Early in March, 1776, Colonel MOULTRIE was ordered to take post on Sullivan's Island, where a fort was building large enough to contain one thousand men. At this time, certain intelligence had been received that an expedition was preparing in New-York against Charleston, and as Colonel MOULTRIE rendered a good account of it, when it arrived within reach of his guns, we shall give his own plain narrative of one of the most brilliant actions of the revolutionary war. "At this time it was the general opinion, especially among the sailors, that two frigates would be a sufficient force to knock the town about our ears, notwithstanding our number of batteries with heavy cannon; but in a few weeks, experience taught us that frigates could make no impression on our palmetto batteries."

"May 31, a large fleet of British vessels were seen about twenty miles to the windward of the bar; and on the first of June, they displayed about fifty sail before the town, on the outside of the bar. The sight of these vessels alarmed us very much; all was hurry and confusion: the president with his council, busy in sending expresses to every part of the country, to hasten down the militia; men running about the town looking for horses, carriages, and boats, to send their families into the country; and as they were going through the town gates into the country, they met the militia from the country marching into town; traverses were made in the principal streets; fleches thrown up at every place where troops could land, military works going on every where, the lead taken from the windows of the churches and dwelling houses, to cast into musket balls, and every preparation to receive an attack, which was expected in a few days. June 4th, General Lee arrived from the northward, and took command of the troops. When he came to Sullivan's Island, he did not like that post at all; he said there was no way to retreat, that the garrison would be sacrificed; nay, he called it a 'slaughter pen,' and wished to withdraw the garrison and give up the post, but President Rutledge insisted that it should not be given up:—for my part, I never was uneasy on not having a retreat, because I never imagined the enemy could force me to that necessity. Captain Lamperer, a brave and experienced seaman, who had been master of a man-of-war, visited me at the fort after the British ships came over the bar; while we were walking on the platform, looking at the fleet, he said to me: 'Well, colonel; what do you think of it now?' I replied, that 'we should beat them.' 'Sir,' said he; when those ships come to lay along side of your fort, they will knock it down in half an hour,' (and that was the opinion of all the sailors,) then I

said, 'we will lay behind the ruins, and prevent their men from landing.' Our fort at this time was not nearly finished; the mechanics and negro laborers were taken from all the works about the town, and sent down to the island to complete our fort; we worked very hard, but could not get it nearly finished before the action. On the morning of the 28th of June, I paid a visit to our advance-guard; while I was there, I saw a number of the enemy's boats in motion at the back of Long Island, as if they intended a descent; at the same time, I saw the men-of-war loose their topsails. I hurried back to the fort as fast as possible; when I got there, the ships were already under sail; I immediately ordered the long roll to beat, and officers and men to their posts. We had scarcely manned our guns when the following ships of war came sailing up, as if in confidence of victory; as soon as they came within reach of our guns, we began to fire;—they were soon abreast of our little fort,—let go their anchors with springs upon their cables, and began their attack most furiously about ten o'clock, A.M., and continued a brisk fire till about eight o'clock, P.M.

"The ships were the Bristol, of fifty guns, Commodore Sir Peter Parker: the captain had his arm shot off, forty-four men killed, and thirty wounded. The Experiment, fifty guns: the captain lost his arm, fifty-seven killed, and thirty wounded. The Active, twenty-eight guns: one lieutenant killed, and one man wounded. The Sole-Bay, twenty-eight guns: two killed, three or four wounded. The Syren, twenty-eight guns. The Acteon, twenty-eight guns: burnt; one lieutenant killed. The Sphinx, twenty-eight guns: lost her bowsprit. The Friendship, twenty-six guns: an armed vessel taken into service.

"The Thunder-Bomb had the beds of her mortar soon disabled; she threw her shells in a very good direction; most of them fell within the fort; but we had a morass in the middle, that swallowed them up instantly. At one time, the commodore's ship swung round with her stern to the fort, which drew the fire of all the guns that could bear upon her. The words that passed along the platform by officers and men were, 'mind the commodore—mind the two fifty-gun ships;' most of our attention was paid to the two fifty-gun ships, especially the commodore, who, I dare say, was not at all obliged to us for our particular attention to him. During the action, thousands of our fellow-citizens were looking on with anxious hopes and fears, some of whom had their fathers, brothers, and husbands in the battle; whose hearts must have been pierced at every broadside. After some

time, our flag was shot away; their hopes were then gone, and they gave up all for lost! supposing that we had struck our flag and given up the fort. Sergeant Jasper, perceiving that the flag was shot away, and had fallen without the fort, jumped from one of the embrasures, and brought it up through a heavy fire, fixed it upon a spunge staff, and planted it upon the ramparts again. Our flag once more waving in the air, revived the drooping spirits of our friends, and they continued looking on till night had closed the scene, and hid us from their view. At length, the British gave up the conflict; the ships slipped their cables, and dropped down with the tide and out of the reach of our guns. When the firing had ceased, our friends for a time were again in an unhappy suspense, not knowing our fate; till they received an account by a dispatch boat which I sent up to town to acquaint them that the British ships had retired, and that we were victorious."*

A few days after this battle, the lady of Major Elliott presented an elegant pair of colors to Colonel MOULTRIE and Lieutenant Colonel Motte, of the gallant second regiment. These colors were honorably supported; they were planted on the British lines at Savannah, where one of them was lost; the other was saved by the brave Sergeant Jasper, who was mortally wounded in the act; but it was afterwards taken at the fall of Charleston.

"As soon as the British had retreated after the battle of Sullivan's Island, the state was left tranquil and free from any apprehension of another attack." General MOULTRIE was sent with an expedition to Georgia; when he arrived at Savannah, preparations were made for an attack on St. Augustine, where his brother was governor; but part of the troops being recalled, the project was abandoned. Shortly after this, the colonial troops were put on the continental establishment, and Colonel MOULTRIE came into the line of the army, as a brigadier general, his commission being dated September 16, 1776.

When General Lincoln took command of the southern department, General MOULTRIE was ordered to join the army with his brigade at Purisburgh. In February, 1779, with a detachment consisting of only a few hundred militia, and nine continental troops, he defeated a superior force of the enemy near Beaufort. General Lincoln soon after marched into Georgia, and left General MOULTRIE with about twelve hundred militia and a few continentals, to watch the motions

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* The fort on Sullivan's Island was, by the legislature, afterwards named Fort Moultrie.

of the British, who were by this time collecting a force for the purpose of striking at some important point. In the beginning of May they advanced towards Charleston, with nearly four thousand men under the command of General Provost. MOULTRIE retired before them, destroying the bridges on the route, and impeding them as opportunities offered; he at the same time kept the governor in Charleston, and General Lincoln, informed of the enemy's advance. In a few days he reached Charleston, but with only six hundred men; the rest had deserted by the way. General Provost appeared before the town; but a few cannon shot stopped his progress. The governor and his council were so much alarmed at the prospect of a siege, that they requested a parley. General Provost offered protection to such of the inhabitants as would accept of it, and to receive the rest as prisoners of war. This proposal was rejected, and a proposition of neutrality during the war was sent. The military were so decidedly opposed to such a spiritless submission, that it was with difficulty an officer could be prevailed on to bear the message. When it was at last delivered, General Provost replied that he had nothing to do with the governor, his business was with General MOULTRIE. "Upon this," says the general, "the governor and council looked very grave and steadfastly on each other and on me, not knowing what I would say. After a little pause, I said, 'Gentlemen, you see how the matter stands,—the point is this: am I to deliver you up prisoners of war, or not?' Some replied 'Yes.' I then said, 'I am determined not to deliver you up prisoners of war. We will fight it out.' I immediately ordered a flag to be waved from the gate, which was the signal agreed upon, should the conference be at an end." But all were disappointed in the result; for the next morning, at daylight, it was discovered that the enemy had decamped. They had intercepted a letter from General Lincoln, who was in their rear with four thousand men. In the spring of 1780, General MOULTRIE again distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston; which, after holding out upwards of a month, capitulated, and he remained a prisoner of war until February, 1782, when he was exchanged for General Burgoyne. He was promoted by congress to the rank of major-general, but was not afterwards engaged in military operations, as at that period the British held no strong post in South Carolina, except Charleston, and that they evacuated in December of the same year.

While he was a prisoner on parole, a proposition was made to him by Lord Charles Montague, under the guise of private friendship, to

leave the service, accept a British commission, and save his reputation by quitting the country; to which he replied in a dignified and becoming manner, in a letter, from which, the following is extracted:

"When I entered into this contest, I did it with the most mature deliberation, and with a determined resolution to risk my life and fortune in the cause. The hardships I have gone through I look back upon with the greatest pleasure: I shall continue to go on as I have begun, that my example may encourage the youths of America to stand forth in defence of their rights and liberties. You call upon me now, and tell me I have a fair opening of quitting that service with honor and reputation to myself by going to Jamaica. Good God! Is it possible that such an idea could arise in the breast of a man of honor! I am sorry you should imagine I have so little regard for my own reputation as to listen to such dishonorable proposals; would you wish to have that man whom you have honored with your friendship, play the traitor? Surely not. You say, by quitting this country for a short time, I might avoid disagreeable conversations, and might return at my own leisure, and take possession of my estates for myself and family; but you have forgot to tell me how I am to get rid of the feelings of an injured honest heart, and where to hide myself from myself;—could I be guilty of so much baseness I should hate myself and shun mankind. This would be a fatal exchange from my present situation, with an easy and approved conscience of having done my duty, and conducted myself as a man of honor."

The only authentic information we have been able to obtain of the life of General Moultrie before, or subsequent to the revolution is, that he entered the field of Mars as the captain of a light infantry company in a provincial regiment, and was engaged in an expedition against the Cherokee Indians in 1761. He was governor of South Carolina, in 1785–6, and again in 1794–5. He died September 27th, 1805, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

# HENRY CLAY.

"If all this be as is now represented, he has acquired fame enough."
DANIEL WEBSTER.

IN every country, an active politician must occupy a conspicuous place in the public eye. In every country, and in our own, especially, the more conspicuous he is rendered by his talents, energy, decision of character, or peculiar principles, the more will he become the favorite of some, and the object of reproach to others. Where men and principles must be tried at the bar of public opinion, as in our country, in Great Britain, would that we could add, in France, it is impossible to prevent this result. Nor, is it desirable that it should be otherwise, saving, the bitterness and coarseness of invective, with which political opponents are too often assailed, in the eager strife of parties. To such an extent does this prevail in our land of free presses, that it is to moderate politicians often a subject of deep mortification and regret. To most of those who have been the prominent men of our country these remarks are applicable, and yet, no sooner are they removed from the stage of action, than their country remembers their services with a just regard. Is it right that public men should struggle through a life of anxious toil and unfaltering patriotism, with only the hope of posthumous justice to their integrity and their talents? Certainly not;—we shall therefore make our selections, alike from the distinguished living and the illustrious dead.

Among the names which belong to, and are interwoven with, the history of the United States, that of HENRY CLAY stands in bold relief. Like many others in our country, he became the builder of his own fortunes; having risen from poverty and obscurity to professional eminence and political dignity, by the energetic and assiduous exercise of his intellectual powers.

HENRY CLAY was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in Hanover county, Virginia. His father, who was a respectable clergyman, died while HENRY was quite young; in consequence of which, he

received no other education, than could be acquired at a common school. He was placed at an early age in the office of Mr. Tinsley, clerk of the high court of chancery, at Richmond, where his talents and amiable deportment won for him, the friendship of some of the most respectable and influential gentlemen in the state. At nineteen, he commenced the study of the law, and was admitted to practice when twenty years of age. He soon after removed to Lexington, Kentucky, and continued his studies there about a year longer; during which time he practised public speaking in a debating society. In his first attempt he was much embarrassed, and saluted the president of the society with the technical phrase, *gentlemen of the jury;* but gaining confidence as he proceeded, he burst the trammels of his youthful diffidence, and clothing his thoughts in appropriate language, gave utterance to an animated and eloquent address. He soon obtained an extensive and lucrative practice; and the reputation which the superiority of his genius acquired, was maintained by his legal knowledge and practical accuracy.

Mr. CLAY'S political and professional career began nearly at the same time; but as we cannot give the details of his varied and busy life within the limits of this sketch, we shall only mark the most prominent points, particularly, where he has taken a stand in support of his favorite principles and measures.

In 1798, when the people of Kentucky were preparing to frame a constitution for the state, a plan was proposed for the gradual emancipation of slaves. Mr. CLAY zealously exerted his talents in favor of it; he wrote for the journals, and declaimed at the public meetings, but his efforts failed of success.

The next great question of a public character in which he took a part, found him arrayed with the popular party, in vindicating the freedom of the press, and in opposition to the sedition law, which was viewed by one political party, as an attempt to control it. His speeches on the subject are said to have exhibited much of that energy of character and power of eloquence, which afterwards distinguished him on all great public occasions.

In 1803, he was elected a member of the legislature, and soon took rank among the ablest men of the state.

In 1806, General Adair resigned his seat in the senate of the United States, and Mr. CLAY was elected to fill the vacancy for one year. He made his debut, in a speech in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac at Georgetown, which is said to have decided the question in favor of the measure, and is the first of his

efforts in support of his favorite principle of *internal improvement.* On his return to Kentucky, he was reëlected to the state legislature, and at the next session was chosen speaker, by a large majority. He held that station for several years, during which he frequently took a part in the debates. He particularly distinguished himself at the first session after his return from congress, by a powerful speech in defence of the common law. A resolution had been introduced to forbid the reading of any British decision, or elementary work on law, in the Kentucky courts. The prejudices of the people, and of a majority of the assembly, were believed to be in favor of the motion; Mr. CLAY moved an amendment, the effect of which was, to exclude those British decisions only, which are of a subsequent date to the declaration of independence. The prejudices against which he contended, were removed by his masterly exposition of the subject. The common law, which viewed in the darkness of ignorance, appeared mysterious and inexplicable; locked up, as was supposed, in a thousand musty volumes; was shown to be simple and easy of comprehension, by the application of a few plain principles. On this occasion, by one of the most extraordinary efforts of his genius, and a brilliant exhibition of his legal knowledge and oratorical powers, Mr. CLAY succeeded in carrying his amendment, by an almost unanimous vote.

In 1809, Mr. CLAY was again elected to the United States' senate for two years, in the place of Mr. Thurston. At this time, the country had arrived at one of those periods, when the strength of its institutions was to be tried, by the menaces and impositions of foreign powers. The policy of the United States has ever been, a non-interference in the affairs of Europe; but notwithstanding the neutrality of the government, to such a height had the animosity of the belligerent European powers arrived, that each strove to injure the other, even at the expense of justice, and by a violation of our neutral rights. Several expedients had been resorted to, by which it was hoped an appeal to arms might be averted, our commercial rights respected, and our national honor remain untarnished; but at the same time a just apprehension was felt, that after all, our pacific measures might prove abortive, and that it was necessary to prepare for war. To this end, a bill was brought into the senate, to appropriate a sum of money for the purchase of cordage, sail cloth, and other articles; to which an amendment was offered giving the preference to American productions and manufactures. It was on this occasion Mr. CLAY first publicly appeared as the advocate of

*domestic manufactures*, and of the protective policy which has since been called "*the American system.*" Mr. CLAY also participated in other important questions before the senate, and amongst them, that respecting the title of the United States to Florida, which he sustained with his usual ability.

His term of service in the senate having expired, he was elected a member of the house of representatives, and in the winter of 1811 took his seat in that body, of which he was chosen speaker, by a vote that left no doubt of the extent of his influence, or of the degree of respect entertained for his abilities. This station he continued to hold until 1814. Previous to the time when the preparations for war, before alluded to, became a subject of interest, Mr. CLAY had been rather a participator in the discussion of affairs, than a leader, or originator of any great measures, such as have since characterized the national policy; but from that period, he is to be held responsible as a principal, for the impulse which he has given to such of them, as will probably be left to the calm judgment of posterity. As early as 1811, we find him in his place advocating the raising of a respectable military force. War he conceived inevitable,—that in fact, England had begun it already; and the only question was, he said, whether it was to be "a war of vigor, or a war of languor and imbecility." "He was in favor of the display of an energy correspondent to the feelings and spirit of the country." Shortly afterward, with equal fervor, he recommended the gradual increase of the navy; a course of national policy, which has fortunately retained its popularity, and still remains unchanged.

In 1814, Mr. CLAY was appointed one of the commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of Ghent. When he resigned the speaker's chair on the eve of his departure to Europe, he addressed the house in a speech, "which touched every heart in the assembly, and unsealed many a fountain of tears;" to which the house responded by passing a resolution, almost unanimously, thanking him for the impartiality, with which he had administered the arduous duties of his office. In the spring, after the termination of the negotiations at Ghent, he went to London with two of his former colleagues, Messrs. Adams and Gallatin; and there entered upon a highly important negotiation, which resulted in the commercial convention, which has been made the basis of most of our subsequent commercial arrangements with foreign powers. On his return to his own country, he was every where greeted with applause, and was again elected to the house of representatives in congress, of which he continued to be a member

until 1825, when he accepted the appointment of secretary of state under President Adams.

One of the great results of our foreign policy, after the war, was the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies. On this subject, Mr. CLAY entered with all his heart, and soul, and mind and strength, — he saw "the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people struggling to burst their chains and to be free;" and he called to mind the language of the venerated father of his country: "Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in my country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom." We regret that we cannot enter into the details of his efforts in that cause; it must suffice to notice, that at first they were not successful, yet he was not discouraged, but renewed them the following year, when he carried the measure through the house of representatives. The president immediately thereafter, appointed five ministers plenipotentiary to the principal Spanish American states. While on this subject, we must not permit the occasion to pass without remarking, that much as we admire those British statesmen, who are bending the powers of their noble minds and splendid talents, to the great cause of human liberty and human happiness, we cannot allow them, nor *one of them*, to appropriate to himself the honor of having "called a new world into existence." That honor belongs not to George Canning, as a reference to dates will show. If there be glory due to any one mortal man more than to others, for rousing the sympathies of freemen for a people struggling to be free, that glory is due to HENRY CLAY; although he never had the *vanity* to say so himself. HIS exertions, won the consent of the American people, to sustain the president in the decisive stand which HE took, when the *great European powers contemplated an intervention on behalf of Spain;* and it was THAT which decided Great Britain, in the course which she pursued. The Spanish American states freely acknowledged their gratitude to Mr. CLAY by public acts; his speeches were read at the head of their armies; and his name will find as durable a place in the history of the South American republics, as in the records of his native land.

In the domestic policy of the government, there were two great points, to which Mr. CLAY's attention was particularly directed, since the late war; both of them, in some degree, resting their claims on the country, from circumstances developed by that war. We are not about to discuss them, but merely to indicate them as his favorite

principles to support which his splendid talents were always directed. These were internal improvements, and the protection of domestic manufactures by means of an adequate tariff. With regard to these measures, the statesmen, and the people of the country, have been much divided,—sometimes, there has been a difference of opinion as to the expediency of them, and sometimes, constitutional objections have been advanced. He was always, however, their stedfast champion, and has been supposed to have connected them with the settled policy of the country. How far this may prove true, time only can decide.

The right, claimed by South Carolina, to nullify an act of Congress, the warlike preparations made by that state to resist compulsion, and the excitement throughout the country, occasioned by the conflict of interests and opinions, and the hopes and fears of the community, will never be forgotten by the present generation. A civil war and the dissolution of the union, or the destruction of the manufacturing interests, which had grown up to an immense value under the protective system, for a time seemed the only alternatives. During the short session of congress in 1832–3, various propositions were made to remove the threatened evils, by a rëadjustment of the tariff; but the time passed on in high debate, and the country looked on in anxious hope, that some measure would be devised, by which harmony and security might be restored. Two weeks only remained to the end of the session, and nothing had been affected; when Mr. Clay, "the father of the American system," himself brought in the olive branch. On the 12th of February, he arose in his place in the senate, and asked leave to introduce a bill, to modify the various acts, imposing duties on imports; he at the same time addressed the senate in explanation of his course, and of the bill proposed. "The basis," Mr. Clay said, "on which I wish to found this modification, is one of time; and the several parts of the bill to which I am about to call the attention of the senate, are founded on this basis. I propose to give protection to our manufactured articles, adequate protection, for a length of time, which, compared with the length of human life, is very long, but which is short, in proportion to the legitimate discretion of every wise and parental system of government—securing the stability of legislation, and allowing time for a gradual reduction, on one side; and on the other, proposing to reduce the rate of duties to that revenue standard for which the opponents of the system have so long contended."

The bill was read, referred to a committee, reported on, and

brought to its final passage in the senate within a few days. In the mean time, it had been made the substitute for a bill under discussion, in the house of representatives, and was adopted in that body by a large majority and sent to the senate, where it had its final reading on the 26th, and when approved by the president became a law.

We should not, in this place, have alluded to the course pursued by one of the states, to effect a modification of the tariff, had it not been so inseparably connected with, what we doubt not, will be hereafter considered one of the most important acts of Mr. CLAY's public life. "He expressly declared that he thought the protective system in extreme danger; and that it would be far better for the manufacturers, for whose interest he felt the greatest solicitude, to secure themselves by the bill, than take the chances of the next session of congress, when, from the constitution of both houses, it was probable a worse one would be passed." On the other hand, he urged the proposition "as a measure of mutual concession,—of peace, of harmony. He wanted to see no civil war; no sacked cities; no embattled armies; no streams of American blood shed by American arms." We trust, that the crisis is passed, and that we shall continue for ever a united, prosperous, and happy people.

The tariff has had its effect so far, that a new era has commenced, and it is very probable, that the revenue of the country will finally be settled down to a standard, only sufficient, to meet the expenses of the government. In connection with this subject, we wish to preserve the following extract from the speech of Mr. Verplanck, in January, 1833, in support of a bill to reduce the tariff, reported by him to congress:

"The last war left the nation laboring under a weight of public debt. The payment of that war debt was one of the great objects of the arrangement of our revenue system at the peace, and it was never lost sight of in any subsequent arrangement of our tariff system. Since 1815, we have annually derived a revenue from several sources, but by far the largest part from duties on imports, of sometimes twenty, sometimes twenty-five, and recently thirty-two and thirty-three millions of dollars a year.

"Of this sum, ten millions always, but of late a much larger proportion, has been devoted to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt. At last that debt has been extinguished. The manner in which those burthens were distributed under former laws, has been, heretofore, a subject of complaint and remonstrance. I do not propose to inquire into the wisdom or justice of those

laws. The debt has been extinguished by them—let us be grateful for the past."

Many other interesting incidents were presented in the public life of Mr. CLAY, to which we shall only advert; such, as the part he took in the Missouri question; in the election of Mr. Adams; on the subject of sending a commissioner to Greece; on the colonization of the negroes; his labors in favor of rechartering the United States Bank, and for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands for the purposes of internal improvement, education, &c.

Mr. CLAY received from Mr. Madison the successive offers of a mission to Russia, and a place in the cabinet; and from Mr. Monroe a situation in his cabinet, and the mission to England; all of which he declined.

In 1824 Mr. CLAY was a candidate for the presidency, but the house of representatives elected Mr. John Quincy Adams; in 1844 he was the Whig nominee, but was defeated by Mr. Polk; he was, however, too firm a republican to complain, and continued to serve the public with all fidelity in the senate, till his health entirely failed. His last service in the senate, was probably the most glorious; for in 1850 he originated the series of measures known as the Compromise, which rescued the Union from one of its greatest dangers, and restored civil quiet to the distracted country. We rejoice that he lived to see the accomplishment and happy effects of this great work; and that from his dying bed, he could look on the Union, which under God, he had preserved from alienation; and which, as the result of his labors and those of his friends, has became peaceful within itself, and has more than ever realized the hopes of our revolutionary fathers.

It will be seen from this brief sketch, that the forty-six years of Mr. CLAY's public life were distinguished by his incessant labors, and by his mighty influence in again and again reconciling political contending parties. Through several of the most trying periods of our history, his clarion voice rung loudest in the capitol, and spoke most effectively in behalf of liberty, both at home and abroad. His sagacity, sustained by an energy which scarcely yielded to the decay of his physical frame, rescued us from successive dangers, both internal and foreign. His lengthened career identified him with much of the history of the nation; and though he never was president, few presidents could hope for greater dignity, or a more enduring fame. He had his enemies and calumniators, but he outlived calumny, and received the unstinted honors and applause of all parties. All united in sorrow over his bier. Prejudice, jealousy, and detraction were compelled here

to mingle remorse with their tears, and the whole nation accorded a universal tribute of gratitude and admiration to him who made the whole period of his manhood one continuous oblation to his country.

A few particulars of the solemn event of his death must be recorded in this very brief and imperfect sketch of the most distinguished statesman of his day. It is known to the whole country that from the memorable session of 1849–50, Mr. CLAY's health gradually declined. Though several years of his senatorial term remained, he did not intend to continue in the public service longer than the following session. He went to Washington at the commencement of the last session of his life chiefly to defend, if it should become necessary, the measures of adjustment between the North and the South, to the adoption of which he had so largely contributed. But the state of his health did not allow him to participate in the discussions of the senate. During the winter he was confined to his room, with slight changes in his condition, but gradually losing the remaining part of his strength. Through the long and dreary winter, he conversed much and cheerfully with his friends, and took great interest in public affairs. While he did not expect a restoration to health, he cherished the hope that the mild season of Spring would bring him strength enough to return to Ashland, that he might die in the bosom of his family; but alas, Spring, which brings life to all nature, brought no life nor hope to him! After the month of March, his vital powers rapidly wasted, and for weeks he lay patiently awaiting the stroke of death. But the approach of that "last enemy" had no terrors for him. No clouds overhung the future. He met his end with composure, and his pathway to the grave was brightened by the immortal hopes which spring from the Christian faith. Not long before his death, his colleague, Mr. Breckenridge, having just returned from Kentucky, bore to him a token of affection from his excellent wife. "Never," said that gentleman, in addressing the senate, "Never can I forget his appearance, his manner, or his words. After speaking of his family and his country, he changed the conversation to his own condition, and looking on me, with his fine eye undimmed, and in a voice full of his original compass and melody, he said, 'I am not afraid to die, sir; I have hope, faith, and some confidence. I do not think any man can be entirely certain in regard to his future state; but I have an abiding trust in the merits and mediation of our Saviour.'"

It was indeed delightful to observe, that the greatest blessing which God bestows on a dying man was his. He had that holy peace of mind which the world can neither give nor take away, and an intellect as

unclouded to the last hour as it ever was in the day of its greatest brilliancy. His thoughts were usually directed to a future world, and his remarks accorded with a confiding Christian spirit. He spoke of himself, in all Christian humility, as looking forward to death with faith in God, and trust in a better life. His bible occupied the most conspicuous place in his sick chamber, and the visits of the Rev. Dr. Butler, an excellent episcopal clergyman, of which church he was a communicant, were always acceptable.

"I was," said General Cass, in his able address to the senate, "often with him during his last illness, when the world and the things of the world were fast fading away before him. He knew that the silver cord was almost loosened, and the golden bowl was breaking at the fountain, but he was resigned to the will of Providence; feeling that He who gave, has the right to take away, in his own good time and manner. After his duty to his Creator, and his anxiety for his family, his first care was for his country, and his first wish for the preservation and perpetuation of the constitution and Union,—dear to him in the hour of death as they had ever been in the vigor of his life—of that constitution and Union, whose defence in the last and greatest crisis of their peril, had called forth all his energies, and had stimulated those memorable and powerful exertions which he who witnessed them can never forget, and which, no doubt, hastened the final catastrophe, a nation now deplores with a sincerity and unanimity, not less honorable to themselves, than to the memory of the object of their affections."

We are now summoned to the death-bed, to the final struggle of Henry Clay with the king of terrors. All his temporal affairs have been wisely ordered, all his political misunderstandings with his friends have been adjusted, and he "has nothing to do but to die." The morning of the 29th of June, 1852, dawns, and he is fully conscious of his approaching dissolution, and prepares for it in a manner which accords with his illustrious character. He has no wish to get up "a scene," but will die with all Christian simplicity. He has held his last conversation with his spiritual adviser, and expressed entire patience, resignation, and confidence in his Redeemer; and now, parental affection predominates in his final thought, he beckons to his side his son Thomas, who has long hovered with filial affection round his bed, and says, "My son, I am going: sit near me." These were his last words, and in fifteen minutes more he passes from earth, as in a sweet and gentle slumber, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Never since the removal of Washington has the death of any man

produced such solemn emotions and intense feeling over the whole country as did that of HENRY CLAY. True, that event had been expected for weeks, and for some days hourly had the news been looked for, but it came at last to stop all business, to hush even the tongue of the most violent partizan, and to draw tears from thousands and tens of thousands of eyes unaccustomed to weep. The two houses of congress at once adjourned, the courts and halls of justice and business closed, and all mercantile transactions were suspended; the lightning bore the intelligence to distant cities, and in one short hour a nation was mourning the removal of the greatest statesman of the age. The proceedings and feelings of the whole country on the receipt of the news of his death did him far greater honor than was ever shown during his life. Imperishably associated as his name had been for almost half a century with every great event affecting the destinies of our country, it was difficult to realize that he was indeed gone forever. It was hard to feel that he would be seen no more.

It is entirely unnecessary to say that his funeral was attended by countless thousands, all of whom sought to show their abiding respect. The members of the senate and of the house of representatives, the mayors and city councils of Washington, Georgetown, Alexandria, and Baltimore, with a vast concourse of strangers, densely thronged the long broad avenue from the hotel to the capitol. Capitol hill, and the terrace and steps of the capitol, seemed to present the whole population of Washington and the surrounding cities. Business of every description was entirely suspended, nearly all the houses of every class of citizens were closed, and covered with the drapery of death, and on every countenance were depicted the evidences of real grief. A more solemn and touching spectacle than the cortege presented as it moved slowly on towards the capitol was, perhaps, never beheld. The cities and villages along the whole line of road to the final resting place of the body with his family and friends in Kentucky, rivalled Washington itself, in their profound respect.

No thoughtful reader will expect in a sketch like this a delineation of the character of the illustrious HENRY CLAY. He will rather read the history of the United States for the first half of the nineteenth century, as the record of his influence and the monument of his fame. The memory of HENRY CLAY'S pure heart and devoted patriotism will endure forever, and guide, like a beacon-star, those to whom he has left that sacred Union and constitution, which found in him so faithful a defender.

"As a leader in a deliberative body," says Mr. Breckenridge,

"Mr. CLAY had no equal in America. In him, intellect, person, eloquence, and courage united to form a character fit to command. He fired with his own enthusiasm, and controlled by his amazing will, individuals and masses. No reverse could crush his spirit, nor defeat reduce him to despair. Equally erect and dauntless in prosperity and adversity—when successful, he moved to the accomplishment of his purposes with serene resolution—when defeated, he rallied his broken band around him, and from his eagle eye shot along their ranks the contagion of his own courage. Destined for a leader, he everywhere asserted his destiny. In his long and eventful life he came in contact with men of all ranks and professions, but he never felt that he was in the presence of a man superior to himself. In the assemblies of the people, at the bar, in the senate—everywhere within the circle of his personal presence, he assumed and maintained a position of prominence. But the supremacy of Mr. CLAY as a party leader, was not his only nor his best title to renown. That title is to be found in the purely patriotic spirit which, on great occasions, always signalized his conduct. We have had no statesman, who in periods of real and imminent public peril, has exhibited a more genuine and enlarged patriotism, than HENRY CLAY. Whenever a question presented itself, actually threatening the existence of the Union, Mr. CLAY, rising above the passions of the hour, always exerted his powers to solve it peacefully and honorably. Although more liable than most men, from his impetuous, ardent nature, to feel strongly the passions common to us all, it was his rare faculty to be able to subdue them in a great crisis, and to hold toward all sections of the confederacy the language of concord and brotherly love. It will be a proud pleasure to every true American heart to remember the great occasions when Mr. CLAY has displayed a sublime patriotism—when the ill temper engendered by the times, and the miserable jealousies of the day, seemed to have been driven from his bosom by the expulsive power of nobler feelings—when every throb of his heart was given to his whole country—every effort of his intellect dedicated to her service. Who does not remember the three periods when the American system of government was exposed to its severe trials? And who does not know that when history shall relate the struggles that preceded, and the dangers which were arrested by the Missouri compromise, the tariff compromise of 1832, and the adjustment of 1850, the same pages will record the genius, the eloquence, and the patriotism of HENRY CLAY. Nor was it his nature to lag behind until measures of adjustment were matured, and then come forward to swell a majority. On the contrary, like a

bold and real statesman, he was ever among the first to meet the peril, and hazard his fame upon the remedy. It is fresh in the memory of us all that when the fury of sectional discord lately threatened to sever the confederacy, Mr. CLAY, though withdrawn from public life, and oppressed by the burden of years, came back to the senate, the theatre of his glory, and devoted the remnant of his strength to the sacred duty of preserving the union of the States. With characteristic courage he took the lead in proposing a scheme of settlement; but though willing to assume the responsibility of proposing a plan, he did not, with petty ambition, insist upon its adoption to the exclusion of other modes, but taking his own as a starting point for discussion and practical action, he nobly labored with his competitors to change and improve it, so as to make it an acceptable adjustment. Throughout the arduous struggle the love of country expelled the spirit of selfishness, and Mr. CLAY proved for the third time, that although he was ambitious and loved glory, he had no unholy ambition to mount to fame on the confusion of his country; and this conviction is lodged in the hearts of the people. Standing by the grave of this great man, and considering these things, how contemptible appears the mere legerdemain of politics! What a reproach is his life on that false policy which would trifle with a great and upright people. If I were to write his epitaph, I would inscribe as the highest eulogy on the stone that shall mark his resting place—'Here lies a man who was in the public service for more than fifty years, and never attempted to deceive his countrymen.'"

We are glad to add to this testimony, the noble language of General Cass: "Though it has often been my fortune to differ from him, yet I believe he was as pure a patriot as ever participated in the councils of a nation, anxious for the public good, and seeking to attain it, during all the vicissitudes of a long and active life. That he exercised a powerful influence within the sphere of his action, through the whole country, indeed, we all feel and know; and we know, too, the eminent endowments which gave him this high distinction. Frank and fearless in the expression of his opinions, and in the performance of his duties, with rare powers of eloquence, which never failed to rivet the attention of his auditory, and which always commanded admiration, even when they did not carry conviction; prompt in decision, and firm in action, and with a vigorous intellect, trained in the contests of a stirring life, and strengthened by an enlarged experience and observation, joined withal to an ardent love of country, and to great purity of purpose—these were the elements of his power and success." Well has such a

man been held up as a fine model for the imitation of our young men; and eminently useful will those be who follow him, even though they must remain at no small distance behind.

That the high respect of Mr. CLAY for religion was not deferred till his last days, may be seen from a fact of undoubted authority. Many years ago Mr. CLAY, in the discharge of his duty as a lawyer, visited, in company with another distinguished professional gentleman, a distant settlement in his own state, to have surveys made of some litigated lands. They made their home at the house of a very humble and diffident Baptist minister. On the first night they stayed with him, he felt himself in very trying circumstances. He was, of course, in the habit of family worship morning and evening, but it was no easy task with him to officiate before such men as his distinguished guests. Glad would he have been had they retired; but as they did not do so, at last, with great trepidation, he stated to them his custom, and said that they could stay and unite with his family in their devotions, or retire, at their option. Mr. CLAY promptly and with feeling replied, that they would remain by all means—that the earliest recollections of his life were associated with such exercises—that his father was a Baptist minister, and his mother was still a member of that communion, and that they had taught him to reverence the institutions of religion, and none more so than that of family worship. When the season of prayer was passed, Mr. CLAY approached him and said, "Mr. B., never again feel the least hesitation in the discharge of your duty to your God on account of the presence of men. I saw your embarrassment, and remained on purpose that you might never feel it again. Remember, my dear sir, that every man of sense will respect the individual who is not ashamed to acknowledge his dependence upon his Maker; and he deserves only contempt who can cherish any other feelings than reverence for 'the consecrated hour of man in audience with the Deity.' And what are myself and friend here, but frail and feeble mortals like you and your little children—indebted for all that we are to the great Fountain of Good, and dependent on Him for every blessing of life? We and you are destined to the same grave and to the same final retribution. The king upon his throne and the beggar in his rags are the same in the eyes of the Omniscient. Think of this, Mr. B., and you will never hesitate again to engage in prayer to God on account of the presence of men. For myself, I would rather know that the prayers of a pious man, no matter how humble his position in life, were ascending in my behalf, than to have the wildest applause of listening Senates."

Daniel Webster

# DANIEL WEBSTER.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born in Salisbury, at the head of the Merrimack river, in the state of New Hampshire, on the 18th of January, 1782. His father, always a farmer, but at one period an officer in the war of the revolution, and for many years judge of the court of common pleas, was a man of a strongly marked character, full of decision, integrity, firmness, and good sense. He died in 1806, having lived, to see the spot where he had, with great difficulty, established himself, changed from being the frontier of civilization, to be the centre of a happy population, abounding in prosperity and resources.

The early youth of Mr. WEBSTER was passed in the midst of the forest, where the means for forming the character we now witness in him, seemed absolutely wanting; and but for the characteristic policy of New England, which carries its free schools even into the wilderness, he would have passed the "mute inglorious" life, which is entailed upon the peasantry of less favored countries. But the first upward aspiration, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances in which he was placed, was early given; and the impulse thus imparted to his young mind was never lost. Struggling always with difficulties, and not without great sacrifices on the part of his family, he was prepared for a higher course of education; and, at last, was graduated, in 1801, at Dartmouth college, having already developed faculties, which, so far as his academic career was concerned, left all rivalship far behind him.

His professional studies in the law were begun in his native town, under Mr. Thompson, soon afterwards a member of congress, and completed in Boston, under Mr. Gore, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and one of its senators in congress, whose whole character, private, political, and professional, from its elevation, purity, and dignity, was singularly fitted to influence a young man of quick and generous feelings, who already perceived within himself the impulse of talents and the stirring of an ambition, whose direction was yet to

be determined. It was in Boston, that Mr. WEBSTER was admitted to the bar, in 1805; and it is a fact worth remembering, that, when Mr. Gore presented him to the court, he ventured to make a prediction respecting his pupil's future eminence, which all his present fame has not more than fulfilled.

Mr. WEBSTER began the practice of his profession at Boscawen, a small village near the place of his nativity; but, in 1807, removed to Portsmouth, the commercial capital of New Hampshire. There he at once rose to the rank of the most prominent in his profession; and under the influence of such intercourse as that with Mr. Smith, then chief justice of New Hampshire, and Mr. Mason, the leading counsel in the state, and of the first order of minds any where, he went through a stern intellectual training, and acquired that unsparing logic, which now renders him in his turn so formidable an adversary.

His first entrance on public life, was in 1812, soon after the declaration of war, when, at the early age of thirty, he was chosen one of the representatives of his native state to the thirteenth congress. His position there was a difficult one, and he felt it to be so. He was opposed to the policy of the war; the state he represented was earnestly opposed to it; and he had always, especially in the eloquent and powerful memorial from the great popular meeting in Rockingham, expressed himself frankly on the whole subject. But he was now called into the councils of the government, which was carrying on the war itself. He felt it to be his duty, therefore, to make no opposition for opposition's sake; though, at the same time, he felt it to be no less his duty, to take heed that, neither the constitution, nor the interests of the nation, were endangered or sacrificed. When, therefore, Mr. Monroe's bill, for a sort of conscription, was introduced, he joined with Mr. Eppes, and other friends of the administration, and defeated a project, which, except in a moment of great anxiety and excitement, would probably never have been proposed. But when, on the other hand, the bill, "for encouraging enlistments," was before the house, he made a speech, in January, 1814, in favor of adequate naval defence, and a perfect military protection of the northern frontier, which, now the passions of that stormy period are hushed, will find an echo in the heart of every lover of his country.

On the subject of a national bank, he took the same independent and patriotic ground, and maintained it with equal vigor and firmness. The administration, having found a bank indispensable, applied to congress for one, with fifty millions of capital, five only of which

were to be in specie, and the rest in the depreciated government securities of the period, with an obligation to lend the treasury thirty millions; but relieved from the necessity of paying its own notes in gold and silver. The project of such a bank, having passed the senate, came to the house, and was there discussed, December, 1814, and January, 1815. Mr. WEBSTER opposed it, on the ground, that it would only increase the embarrassments in the fiscal operations of the nation, and the pecuniary transactions of individuals, which were already in confusion, by the refusal of all the state banks south of New England, to pay in specie. He was, no doubt, right; and, probably, nobody now, on reviewing the discussion of the whole subject, would doubt it. But he carried his point, and defeated the bill, only by the casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Cheves.

Mr. WEBSTER'S opposition to the bank, however, had not been factious; and, therefore, the very next day, he took the initiative steps for bringing the whole subject immediately before the house again; and a sound, specie-paying bank, was almost as immediately agreed to; Mr. WEBSTER, and most of his friends, voting for it. The bill, however, to establish it, was rejected by the president, on the ground, that it was not sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case; which, indeed, we now know no bank would have been able to meet; and thus the question was again brought into a severe and protracted discussion, which was ended only by the unexpected news of the peace, January 17, 1815.

But the peace brought with it other conflicts of a similar nature. When the bill to establish the late bank of the United States was introduced, Mr WEBSTER opposed it, on the ground, that the capital proposed was too large, and that it contained a provision to authorize a suspension of specie payments. On both points, his opposition, with that of his friends, was successful; but still, he was not satisfied with the bill; and the suggestions he made, predicting enormous subscriptions to the stock for purposes of speculation merely, and out of all proportion to the real ability of the subscribers, showed the statesman-like forecast, which has marked his whole political course; and were sadly justified by the difficulties that occurred in the history of the bank itself.

Still less, however, was he satisfied with the condition of the circulating medium of the country, which was then fit neither for the safe management of the concerns of the government, nor for the security of private property. A large part of it consisted in the depreciated notes of the state banks, south of New England, in which

even the revenue of the government was receivable, at the different custom houses; so that there was a difference, he declared, of at least twenty-five per cent. in the rates of duties collected in different parts of the country, according to the value of the paper medium in which they were paid. The vast mischief which would follow this state of things were at once foreseen by Mr. WEBSTER; and he introduced a resolution, requiring the revenue of the United States to be collected only in the legal currency of the United States, or in bills equal to that currency in value. The passage of this resolution, the defeat of the paper-currency bank proposed in 1814, and the establishment of the present specie-paying bank, have saved us from confusion and disasters, which Mr. WEBSTER so clearly foresaw, and on which, now we understand more of their nature and extent, it is hardly possible to look back with composure.

The same principles and doctrines were again maintained by him, with equal steadiness, when the question of re-chartering the bank came up, in 1832. The objection of too large a capital was then removed, as he conceived, by the increased population, wealth, and wants of the country; and the objection to indiscriminate subscription could not recur, if the charter were renewed. Mr. WEBSTER, therefore, sustained it; and when the president had placed his *veto* upon it, rejoined, not on the ground sometimes taken, that the president had exceeded his authority; but, on the ground that he had exercised it to the injury of the country, and that the reasons he had given for it were untenable.

In 1816, Mr. WEBSTER determined to retire, at least for a time, from public life, and to change his residence. He had then lived in Portsmouth nine years, and they had been to him years of great happiness in his private relations, and, in his relations to the country, years of remarkable advancement and honor. But, in the disastrous fire, which, in 1813, destroyed a large part of that devoted town, he had sustained a heavy pecuniary loss, which the opportunities offered by his profession in New Hampshire were not likely to repair. He determined, therefore, to establish himself in a larger capital; and, in the summer of 1816, removed to Boston, in the neighborhood of which he has ever since resided.

His object was now professional occupation; and he devoted himself to it, for six or eight years, with unremitting assiduity; refusing to accept office, or to mingle in political discussion. His success was correspondent to his exertions. He was already known as a distinguished lawyer in his native state, and beginning to be known as

such in Massachusetts. The Dartmouth college cause which he argued, in March, 1818, in the supreme court of the United States, placed him in the first rank of American jurists, at the early age of thirty-six; and from that time his attendance on this great tribunal was constantly secured by retainers in the most important causes; and the circle of his professional business, which continued regularly to enlarge, has not been exceeded, if it has been equalled, by that of any other lawyer, who has ever appeared in the national forum. Few of his arguments, however, are reported, and even those few are exhibited only in a dry and technical outline. Among them, the most remarkable are, the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, in 1824, involving the question of the steam-boat monopoly; and the case of Ogden *vs.* Saunders, 1827, involving the question of state insolvent laws, when they purport to absolve the party from the obligation of the *contract*. In these, and in all his other forensic efforts, we see what was most characteristic of Mr. WEBSTER's mind as a lawyer: his clearness and downright simplicity in stating facts; his acute analysis of difficulties; his earnest pursuit of truth for truth's sake, and of the principles of law for the sake of right and justice; and his desire to attain them all by the most direct and simple means. It was this plainness, this simplicity, in fact, that made him so prevalent with the jury; and not only with the jury in court, but with the great jury of the whole people.

But, during the years just passed over, Mr. WEBSTER's success was not confined to the bar. In the year 1820–21, he was a member of a convention of delegates, assembled in Boston, to revise the constitution of Massachusetts, and exercised a preponderating influence in an assembly of greater dignity and talent than was ever before collected in that ancient commonwealth. On the 22d of December, 1820, the day when the two hundredth year from the first landing of the forefathers, at Plymouth, was completed, Mr. WEBSTER, by the sure indication of the public will, was summoned to that consecrated spot, and, in an address, which is the gravest of his published works, so spoke of the centuries past, that the centuries yet to come shall receive and remember his words. Again, in 1825, fifty years from the day when the solemn drama of the American revolution was opened, on Bunker's hill, Mr. WEBSTER stood there, and interpreted to assembled thousands the feelings with which that great event will forever be regarded. Again, too, in the summer of 1826, he was called upon to commemorate the services which Adams and Jefferson had rendered, when they carried through the declaration

of independence; and which they so mysteriously sealed, by their common death, exactly half a century afterwards. And finally, on the 22d of February, 1832, at the completion of a century from the birth of Washington, and in the city which bears his name, Mr. WEBSTER exhibited him to the country as standing at the head alike of a new world, and of a new era, in the history of man. These four occasions were all memorable; as memorable, perhaps, as any that have occurred to Americans in our time; and the genius of Mr. WEBSTER has sent them down, marked with its impress, to posterity.

But, during a part of the period over which we have slightly passed, he was again in public life. From 1823 to 1827, he was a member of the house of representatives, from the city of Boston, in the seventeenth and eighteenth congresses. His first distinguished effort, on this second appearance in the national councils, was his "Greek speech," in which, with the forecast of a statesman, he showed, as plainly as events have since proved it, that the principles laid down by the great powers in Europe from the congress of Paris, in 1814, to that of Laybach, in 1821, as the basis on which to maintain the peace of the world, mistook the spirit of the age, and would speedily be overturned by the irresistible power of popular opinion. In 1824, he entered fully into the great discussions about the tariff; and examined the doctrines of exchange, and the balance of trade, with an ability which has prevented them from being since, what they had so often been before, subjects of crude and unsatisfactory controversy in both houses of congress. In 1825, he prepared and carried through the crimes act, which, as a just tribute to his address and exertions, his great wisdom and patient labor, already bears his name; and, in the same session of congress, he defended, as he had defended them in 1816, the principles involved in the exercise of the power of internal improvements by the general government. These, with the discussions respecting the bill for enlarging the number of judges of the supreme court of the United States, and respecting the Panama mission, were the more prominent subjects on which Mr. WEBSTER exhibited his remarkable powers during the four sessions in which he represented the city of Boston in the house of representatives.

In 1826, he was reëlected, almost unanimously, to represent the same district yet a third time; but, before he had taken his seat, a vacancy having occurred in the senate, he was chosen, without any regular opposition, to fill it; an honor, which was again conferred upon him in 1833, by a sort of general consent and acclamation.

How he sustained himself as a senator, is known to the whole country. No man was ever found able to intercept from him the constant regard of the nation; so that, whatever he said, was watched and understood throughout the borders of the land, almost as familiarly and thoroughly as it always was at Washington. The speeches he delivered on the great questions of the tariff, and of internal improvements; his admirable defence of the bill for the relief of the surviving officers of the revolution; his report on the apportionment of representatives; and his statesman-like discussions respecting a national bank; are known to all who know anything about the affairs of the country. But, though the eyes of all were always thus fastened on him, in such a way, that nothing relating to him, can have escaped their notice, there were two occasions, when he attracted a kind and degree of attention, which, as it is rarely given to any man in any country, is so much the more honorable whenever it is obtained. We refer now, of course, to the two great debates of 1830 and 1833, when he overthrew the doctrine of nullification.

An attempt to put a construction upon the constitution, which has resulted in these doctrines, can be traced back as far as to May, 1828, when two or more meetings, of the South Carolina delegates, were held at General Hayne's lodgings, in Washington; and to the assembling of the legislature of South Carolina, in the autumn of the same year, when, on the 19th of December, a document, called "An Exposition and Protest," prepared, as is understood, by Mr. Calhoun, then vice-president of the United States, was produced, in order to exhibit and enforce those doctrines, on which that state relied for success in the contest into which she was then entering. In January, 1830, in the confident hope of obtaining further sanction to them, they were brought forward in the senate of the United States, by General Hayne; though the resolution, under color of which they were thus produced, had nothing to do with them. Mr. Webster was, therefore, in a measure, taken by surprise; but his whole life had been a preparation for an encounter with any man, who should assail the great principles of the federal constitution; and his speeches, on this occasion, in reply to General Hayne, though called from him almost without premeditation, are the result of principles which had almost grown up with him from his youth, and were now developed with all the matured power of his mind and strength.

The same consequences, or consequences even more honorable to Mr. Webster, followed the attempt made in the winter of 1833,

to enforce in the senate the same unsound doctrines; and the tumultuous and unparliamentary shout of applause that followed his great speech, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, which burst involuntarily from the hearts of the multitude, that listened to him, was afterwards echoed from all the borders of the land.

The remaining part of Mr. WEBSTER's history is little more than that of successive triumphs in the senate and at the bar, by the power of his arguments and the force of his eloquence, and of his constant enlightenment of the public mind, leading many thousands to conclusions which but for him they would never have reached. Fully to detail these triumphs would fill volumes, instead of the very few pages to which our biographies must be confined.

In the recess of congress, in the year 1833, Mr. WEBSTER made a short journey to the Middle States and the West. He was everywhere the object of the most distinguished and respectful attentions. Public receptions took place at Buffalo and Pittsburg, where, under the auspices of committees of the highest respectability, he addressed immense assemblages convened without distinction of party. Invitations to similar meetings reached him from many quarters, which he was obliged by want of leisure to decline.

The period from the elevation of General Jackson to the time of General Harrison, was filled with incidents of great importance in various departments of the government; often of a startling character at the time, and not less frequently exerting a permanent influence on the condition of the country. It may be stated as the general characteristic of the political tendencies of this period that there was a decided weakening of respect for constitutional restraint. Vague ideas of executive discretion prevailed on the one hand in the interpretation of the constitution, and of popular sovereignty on the other, as represented by a president elevated to office by overwhelming majorities of the people. In the midst of all, Mr. WEBSTER remained calm, firm and powerful; and contributed perhaps more than any other man, to conduct the vessel of the state into a peaceful haven.

In the spring of 1839, Mr. WEBSTER, for the first time in his life, crossed the Atlantic, making a hasty tour through England, Scotland and France. His attention was particularly drawn to the agriculture of England and Scotland; to the great subjects of currency and exchange; and to the practical effects on the politics of Europe of the system of the continental alliance. No traveler from this country has ever been received with equal attention by private circles, or in the very highest classes of English society. Courtesies usually paid only

to ambassadors and foreign ministers were extended to him. His table was covered with invitations to the seats of the nobility and gentry; and his company was eagerly sought at the public entertainments which took place while he was in the country. Among the distinguished persons with whom he contracted intimate friendship, the late Lord Ashburton may be particularly mentioned. A mutual regard of more than usual warmth arose between them. This circumstance was well understood in the higher circles of English society, and when, two years later, a change of administration in both countries brought the parties to which they were respectively attached into power, the friendly relations well known to exist between them, were, no doubt, among the motives which led to the appointment of Lord Ashburton as special minister to the United States to settle a long existing and very difficult question.

Mr. WEBSTER remained in the department of state but little more than two years. His last act was the preparation of the instructions of Mr. Cushing who had been appointed commissioner to China. Some of the members of the cabinet had resigned some months preceding, but in the judgment of the secretary of state, the public welfare claimed his services till the period when he resigned his office into the hands of President Tyler, and retired to private life. In 1845 he was elected to resume his seat in the senate, where he remained till called by President Fillmore again to occupy the department of state.

In the spring of 1850, the decease of Mr. Calhoun took place at Washington, and Mr. WEBSTER, when speaking in the senate on the mournful event, bore testimony, in cordial and affecting terms, to the uninterrupted friendly relations in which they had always stood. He regarded Mr. Calhoun as decidedly the ablest of the public men to whom he had been opposed in the course of his political life. These kindly feelings were known to be fully reciprocated by Mr. Calhoun. He declared on his death-bed, that of all the public men of the day, there was no one whose political course had been more strongly marked by a strict regard to truth and honor than Mr. WEBSTER's. Indeed of all the highly eminent public men of the day, these gentlemen made the least use of the favorite weapon of ordinary politicians,—personality towards opponents.

If it were allowable to specify one speech rather than another which has shown the high powers of mind, and the clear views of Mr. WEBSTER on moral questions, we would refer to his mighty effort in the supreme court at Washington, in 1844, on the Girard bequest. This gentleman bequeathed the greater part of his estate to the city of

Philadelphia for the foundation of a college for orphans, and the case was argued by Mr. WEBSTER for the heirs at law. One of the grounds on which the bequest was impeached by them was the exclusion by the will of all ecclesiastics, missionaries, or ministers, of whatever sect, from all offices in the college, and even from admission within the premises as visitors. So impressive was Mr. WEBSTER's argument upon the importance of making provision for religious instruction in all institutions for education, that a meeting of the citizens of Washington belonging to different religious denominations was held, at which a resolution was passed, expressing the opinion entertained by the meeting of the great value of Mr. WEBSTER's argument, "in demonstrating the vital importance of Christianity to the success of our free institutions, and that the general diffusion of that argument among the people of the United States is a matter of deep public interest." Many thousand copies of this masterly argument have since been circulated.

It has been well remarked by a recent biographer of Mr. WEBSTER, that "the key to his whole political course is the belief that when the Union is dissolved, the internal peace, the vigorous growth, and the prosperity of the states, and the welfare of their inhabitants, are blighted forever; and that, while the Union endures, all else of trial and calamity which can befal a nation may be remedied or borne. So believing, he has pursued a course which has earned for him an honored name among those who have discharged the duty of good citizens with the most distinguished ability, zeal and benefit to the country. In the relations of civilized life, there is no higher service which man can render to man, than thus to preserve a wise constitution of government in healthful action."

No man can fairly review the history of DANIEL WEBSTER without admiring the character of our free institutions, and exulting in their tendency. In other lands, and under any other government, his extraordinary powers could not have been so fully developed. We are aware that this might be said in connection with the majority of our eminent men; but no man illustrates the fact more clearly than Mr. WEBSTER. From the days when, amidst the fastnesses of nature, his young feet trod with difficulty the path to the common school house, where his earliest aspirations were nurtured, and he was first blest with a glimpse of the wisdom by which his course should be directed, to the moment when he came forth from the senate chamber, conscious that he had overthrown the doctrine of nullification, and contended successfully for the union of the states; or rather to a still later period when the danger of the dissolution of the Union was even

greater, and when for its preservation he risked the esteem of many of his friends, it is clear that he rested on his own distinct views of right for success. And it is equally clear, that in all he ever did, he acted on his full conviction of the wisdom of our constitution, and has shown the highest development and proudest exercise of his mighty talents to maintain our Union unbroken and cordial.

In the midst of his usefulness, and at the period when the continuance of his services to the country seemed most desirable, Mr. WEBSTER was overtaken with his last sickness. During the autumns of many years he had suffered from chronic disease, and being in his seventy-first year, apprehensions might well have been entertained of the result, when in September of 1852, his appearance indicated languor and suffering. As long as he could, he remained in his office at Washington, and then retired to Marshfield, fully expecting that a few weeks' rest would enable him to return with renewed energy to labor; indeed not a few of his friends were disposed to nominate him for the next presidency; but all hopes were soon disappointed, and it was announced to an anxious nation that they must prepare to lose an illustrious favorite.

On the evening of Saturday, October 23, his physicians deemed it their duty to inform him that his last hour was fast approaching; he received the intelligence with composure, and then requested that the female members of his family should be called into his room; and calling each by name, he gave them characteristic words of counsel and consolation, and took a solemn and affectionate farewell. He then requested the presence of the male members of his family, and of his personal friends who were in his house, and addressing each of them also by name, he referred to his past relations with them respectively, and one by one bade them an affectionate adieu. After they left the room, he expressed a desire that they should all remain near his chamber, and recalling Mr. Peter Harvey, he addressed him as he approached the bedside—"Harvey, I am not so sick but that I know you; I am well enough to love you, and well enough to call down the richest of Heaven's blessings upon you and yours. Harvey, don't leave me till I am dead—don't leave Marshfield till I am a dead man." Then, as if speaking to himself, he said,—"On the twenty-fourth of October, all that is mortal of DANIEL WEBSTER will be no more."

Very shortly after this he engaged in fervent prayer, in a voice perfectly natural, and scarcely less strong and full than when in health, concluding by a solemn utterance of the words,—"Heavenly Father, forgive my sins, and receive me to thyself, through Christ Jesus." He

then turned to his medical attendants, and inquired at what hour or moment he might expect his dissolution. He was informed that nothing more could be done for him than occasionally administering to him sedatives, and that death might ensue in two or three hours, but that the time could not be definitely calculated. "Then," he replied, "I suppose I must lie here quietly until it comes. May it come soon."

During the evening Dr. Jeffries offered him something, expressing the hope that it might give him ease. "Something more, doctor," said he, "more, I want restoration." At ten o'clock he was sensibly weaker, but perfectly conscious. Soon after, he repeated somewhat indistinctly the words, "Poet, poetry,—Gray, Gray." Mr. Fletcher Webster, his only surviving son, repeated the first line of the eligy, "The curfew tolls the knell of parting day." "That's it, that's it," said Mr. WEBSTER, and the book was found and some stanzas read which seemed to give him much pleasure.

From twelve o'clock till two, there was much restlessness, but his physicians were confident that there was no actual pain. A faintness occurred, which led him to think that death was upon him, and he expressed the hope that his mind would remain unclouded to the last. He spoke of the difficulty of the *process* of dying, when Dr. Jeffries repeated the verse, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." "Yes," said he, quickly, "the fact, the fact. That is what I want—*thy* rod, *thy* rod—thy staff, thy staff." At twenty-two minutes before three o'clock, on the morning of Sunday, October 24, 1852, DANIEL WEBSTER expired. To the last moment his intellect was vigorous, his mind clear, and his will strong. The inward man triumphed to the last over the outward.

It will be long before we shall look upon his equal. Warriors have led armies to victory; but Mr. WEBSTER led this Union into an equality of moral power and influence with the proudest nations of the earth. He has shown us that perseverance in the maintenance of all that is peculiar to us as a nation can alone give us a continually rising rank among the governments of the world. His career was one of constant patriotism, and his country, in life and death, showed him every possible mark of respect. His memory shall always be precious, for he merited all the honors he received.

# WILLIAM WIRT.

It is a peculiar felicity of our republican institutions, that they throw no impediment in the career of merit, but the competition of rival abilities. Into this career, it may enter without encountering the repulses of artificial rank, or winning its patronage by unworthy compliances. As the father of an American family divides his favor and his fortune alike among his children, so, the republic gives the same impulse to all her sons, and receives in return a larger contribution of their talents and services. There are many, no doubt, who have overcome much greater embarrassments than the subject of this memoir: nevertheless, he was one of the many examples of this sort, pleasing in themselves, especially when considered as characteristic of the country.

William Wirt, late attorney general of the United States, was a native of Bladensburg, Maryland; he was born on the 18th of November, 1772, and lost his parents at a very early age. This event placed him under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Jasper Wirt, also a resident of the same village, in the neighborhood of which William received the rudiments of his education. In his seventh year he was removed to a school in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and thence to another, at New Port Church, Charles county, Maryland; but the chief part of his education was received at the school of the Reverend James Hunt, in Montgomery county, at which he was placed in his eleventh year, and continued till he was fifteen. Under the instruction of this gentleman, he went through the usual course of the grammar schools of those days, being initiated in the Latin and Greek classics, and in some of the branches of the mathematics, to which his teacher added some instruction in natural philosophy. Here, too, he had the advantage of a good miscellaneous library, cultivated his taste for polite literature, and became a confirmed student and author when about thirteen years of age. As Montgomery Court-house was at no great distance, the boys were allowed to visit it occasionally on court days, and in imitation of what they saw and

heard there, they formed a court of their own. WIRT draughted the constitution and laws, which he reported with an apologetic letter prefixed. On the school being broken up, in 1787, Mr. Benjamin Edwards, the father of one of his schoolfellows, (Ninian Edwards, afterwards governor of Illinois,) having seen the juvenile essay and letter alluded to, was induced to invite their author under his roof, where he accordingly remained in the capacity of teacher about a year and a half. This was a fortunate event to a young man whose patrimony was inadequate to support him at college, or in the acquirement of a profession; and Mr. WIRT was frequently heard to express his conviction, that to Mr. Edwards' peculiar and happy cast of character, he owed most of what might be praiseworthy in his own.

From this residence, and these occupations, he was forced by some ,ymptoms of bad health, and went, for the benefit of the climate, to Augusta, in Georgia. On his return in the succeeding spring, he began the study of law at Montgomery Court-house, with Mr. William P. Hunt, the son of his former precepter. He was afterwards a student at Leesburg, Virginia, under Thomas Swann; was licensed for practice in the autumn of 1792, and removed to Culpepper Court-house, in Virginia, where he the same year began the professional career, in which he attained such eminent renown.

He at this time possessed a vigorous constitution, with a prepossessing mien and manners; these, combined with great felicity of conversation, and a lively, fertile wit, are described by one who knew him a short time after this date, to have been attractive in a very uncommon degree, and to have made his society eagerly sought, especially by the gay and young. His first essay at the bar was fortunate, and gained him friends, as well as subsequent success. He married, in 1795, Mildred, the eldest daughter of Doctor George Gilmer, of Pen Park, near Charlottesville. Residing, after his marriage, in the family of his father-in-law, who was an accomplished scholar and wit, as well as an eminent physician, and the intimate associate of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe, he found in these celebrated men, and in others, who were attracted by the benevolent character and hospitality of Doctor Gilmer, very cordial as well as desirable friends; while in the elegant library of the latter, he cultivated his mind by the study of the elder philosophical writers, or employed himself assiduously in composition.

The death of his wife, an accomplished and amiable woman, in 1799, interrupted this happy and profitable course of life, and suspended, for a while, his professional pursuits. For change of scene,

he was persuaded to go to Richmond, his friends procuring his election to the clerkship of the house of delegates, which post he held during three sessions of the assembly. Not having entirely relinquished the practice of law, he volunteered, in 1800, in the well-known trial of Callender; and in the same year he was selected to pronounce the anniversary oration on the fourth of July.

The charm of his conversation and manners, which had won him distinguished esteem in the elevated and intellectual circle of Pen Park and Monticello, followed him into the associations, which, as clerk of the house of delegates, he was thrown into, with the members of the legislature. That body gave him a signal mark of its consideration, by appointing him, in 1802, the chancellor of the eastern chancery district of Virginia.

In the autumn of the same year he married the daughter of the late Colonel Gamble, of Richmond, and finding the salary of the chancellorship unequal to the support of a family, he resigned it, and resumed the practice of law. It was just before he removed to Norfolk, in the winter of 1803–4, that he wrote the essays under the name of "The British Spy." They were published originally in the Richmond Argus, and were hastily composed, under some uneasiness, which he hoped to divert, arising from the ill-health of his wife. Some of the sketches in these essays had a wide popularity, and that of the "Blind Preacher" penetrated, we believe, into every hamlet of the country, and was well known in Europe.

At Norfolk he practised with increasing success till 1806, when, at the solicitation of his friends, he removed to Richmond, as a wider professional theatre, then adorned by men of the first legal talents and learning. In this city, and often, likewise, in distant parts of the state, he pursued his profession for eleven years, with still extending reputation, which enlarged into celebrity by the trial of Aaron Burr, against whom, under the direction of President Jefferson, he was employed as prosecuting counsel.

This trial took place in 1807, soon after Mr. WIRT's removal to Richmond, and created, it is well known, an earnest interest in all classes of people. Great learning and abilities were exhibited at once in the prosecution and defence; public passion augmented the intrinsic importance of the affair; and the whole theatre was well adapted, to call out the talents of the actors on either side. The report of the trial has made his speeches familiar to lawyers; and some passages of them are still more so, as popular specimens of eloquence,

In the following winter he sat for the only time in a legislative

body, being elected without canvass, a delegate to the assembly from Richmond. As a member of a committee, he brought in a report and resolutions, respecting the aggressions of France and Great Britain on our commerce, and in support of the consequent measures of Mr. Jefferson's administration. He wrote in the same year, some essays in the Richmond Enquirer, signed "One of the People," addressed to the members of congress, who had united in a protest against the nomination of Mr. Madison for president, and exhibiting the character and services of that illustrious citizen. He published, about the same time, an address to the people of Virginia, in recommendation of domestic manufactures, and some essays signed the "Sentinel," investigating and approving some financial and other views of Mr. Jefferson.

The appointment of Mr. WIRT by Mr. Monroe, to the attorney-generalship of the United States, (which had been preceded by his receiving from Mr. Madison the post of United States' attorney for the district of Virginia,) caused him to remove to Washington in the winter of 1817–18, and brought him into the arena of the supreme court; than which, no forensic theatre, perhaps, ever presented more accomplished and powerful antagonists. Mr WIRT's practice soon became extensive, and his celebrity kept pace with it, as an eloquent advocate and learned jurist. The attorney-generalship he held through three presidential terms, longer by many years than any of his predecessors; and his labors in this arduous post, seem to have surpassed theirs in the same proportion, being the first of those officers that sat in the cabinet, and the only one that left any official opinions or precedents, to guide his successors. He resigned his place at the end of Mr. Adams' administration, and removed to Baltimore, where he resided till near his death.

Before he left Washington, he had pronounced, at the request of the citizens of that place, an eulogy on the two patriots, who by so singular a coincidence, ended their lives on the same anniversary of the national independence. This composition contains some passages of finished oratory, and has more especially infused into it the classic tincture of his reading. In 1830, he made at Rutgers college, a discourse of a more didactic nature, in which we discern that love of virtue and decorum, which breathes in all his writings. He was selected the same year to deliver the address at the celebration of the French revolution of July, by the citizens of Baltimore; which he accomplished to the full satisfaction of all who heard him, who presented him their cordial thanks.

## WILLIAM WIRT.

In September, 1831, the first National Convention of the Anti-Masonic party assembled in Baltimore to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States. This party arose from the abduction and supposed murder of William Morgan, a resident of the western part of New York, where he had published a book professing to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry. The excitement spread from that state into others, and the party to which it gave birth was swelled in some of the states, particularly in Pennsylvania, by persons who were dissatisfied with the administration of President Jackson, and yet were unwilling to join the party, professedly opposed to him,—the National Republicans whose candidate it was generally expected, would be Henry Clay. In some of the states the new party held the balance of power and in all the northern parts of the Union it was rapidly growing, and led by active and energetic men.

Mr. WIRT had been selected to represent Baltimore in the National Convention of the National Republican party; he was ardently devoted to Mr. Clay and prepared to support him for the presidency. It was, therefore, to his great surprise, that he received a notification from the Anti-Masonic Convention that he had been selected as their candidate for the presidency, accompanied by the request of an immediate answer.

Mr. WIRT accepted the nomination in a letter in which he informed the convention that he had in early life joined the Freemasons, but had not been in a lodge for many years; but that he could not believe that the proceedings against Morgan had met with the sanction of the order. He thought some of the oaths exacted of members were improper, and came in conflict with their duties as citizens, and taking into consideration that the maintenance of "the supremacy of the laws" was the basis upon which the new party proposed to act, he concluded by consenting to be their candidate.

At the election in the Autumn of 1832, the state of Vermont was the only one in which the Anti-Masons gave the largest vote and Mr. WIRT received the seven electoral votes of that state for the presidency.

In the two succeeding years, 1833 and 1834, Mr WIRT was concerned in founding a colony of Germans in Florida, which was placed under the control of one of his sons-in-law, Mr. Goldsborough, of the navy. He seemed to have looked forward to joining his two daughters who were settled in that territory and spending the remainder of his life with them. The colony proved a failure; some of the settlers violated their engagements and ran away, and experience seems to

have been all that the proprietors derived from it. Writing of the failure of the colony to a friend, Mr. WIRT very pleasantly says, "As to the Germans I am now prepared to write a treatise *De moribus Germanorum.*"

In January, 1834, Mr. WIRT attended the sitting of the supreme court of the United States at Washington. His health was feeble and he had just received the afflicting news of the death of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Randall, in Florida. In February, whilst he was in some degree recovering from this afflicting blow, he took cold on returning from the capitol, whither he had been to attend divine service. He was not considered seriously ill until Thursday, when he became much worse, and on Tuesday, February 18th he expired. As might have been expected, the highest encomiums were pronounced on him by members of the bar, who at once assembled to do him honor; and both houses of congress adjourned to enable their members to attend his funeral; a mark of respect never before shown to any who were not members of one or the other house. In the procession were seen the president of the United States, the vice-president, the heads of departments, the diplomatic corps, the bench and bar of the supreme court, the members of the two houses of congress, officers of the army and navy, and a large concourse of private citizens.

Mr. Wirt was not more eminent as a jurist and public man than he was affectionate and devoted as a friend and relative, and delightful as a companion. His life had been more varied than that of most professional men and his conversation abounded with anecdote. His wit was playful and gentle, and he was disposed to look at men and things upon the bright side. A strong religious feeling was conspicuous in his character; in the latter part of his life he united himself as a communicant with the Presbyterian Church, to which denomination his parents had belonged.

As life advanced, his excellent biographer, the Hon. J. P. Kennedy, informs us, his convictions of the truth and value of the Christian revelation, and of the duties it imposed upon him, became more earnest and profound. He devoted a portion of his time, every day, to the reading of the scriptures; engaged in a comprehensive study of theology; cultivated habits of prayer and meditation, which he promoted and encouraged throughout his family; and frequently employed his leisure in the composition of religious essays and records of private devotion. He took great interest in the promotion of moral and religious institutions, in the missionary labors of the churches, in the extension of Sunday schools, in the success of bible societies,—and

was, at the time of his death, the president of the State Bible Society of Maryland. He was a most effective friend of the cause of temperance, and often sought opportunity to testify to the great importance which he attached to the labors of the societies connected with it. "I have been for more than forty years,"—he remarks in a letter which has been frequently published,—" a close observer of life and manners in various parts of the United States, and I know not the evil that will bear a moment's comparison with intemperance." In short, the latter years, especially, of Mr. WIRT's life furnish us the spectacle of a highly gifted, thoughtful, and accomplished mind stimulated by a sincere and fervent piety, and employed in the promotion of every good work suggested by enlightened benevolence or Christian duty. His theological studies were systematically pursued through many years, in whatever leisure his profession allowed him. His favorite authors were Hooker, Baxter, Watts, Faber, Flavel, Robert Hall, Doddridge, and Jay; Massillon and Bourdaloue were frequently in his hands. Of Baxter, he says, in a letter to his daughter—" I took up 'The Saint's Rest' lately, and found it like an old sandal-wood box, as fresh and fragrant as if it had been just made, although it has been exhaling its odor for a hundred and eighty years."

As a writer, Mr. WIRT was chiefly known by productions which were the work, or rather the amusement of the limited leisure which he could snatch from other labors. "The Spy" and "The Old Bachelor," of the last of which he wrote the greater part, were essays, composed under the double haste of daily business and the promptings of the occasion. Under such circumstances we may wonder that a lawyer, devoted to his profession, who at no time languished in want of practice, and who when the last of them had appeared, had reached high emolument and honor, should have had the time, the taste, and the affection for letters, to send forth two series of essays, which were received with uncommon pleasure by the public. Indeed they have obtained what may be considered a permanent popularity; "The Old Bachelor" having gone through three editions, and "The British Spy" through nine. Their tone is elevated, the thought, for the most part, elegant and natural, and in sketches of character and manner the author has been particularly happy.

In "The Life of Patrick Henry," as being the work of more mature age, we might have expected an abatement of the ornamental declamation, sometimes objected to in his writings. But though this biography was designed by the author for many years, it finally passed from his hands under the same circumstances of haste as his other pro-

ductions. His subject, also, was an extraordinary man, of whom it was difficult to speak in the terms employed by the witnesses of his displays, without being thought to surcharge the picture; and who, while he commanded the unlimited admiration of his contemporaries, especially in his native state, may be said to have left scarcely "the foot of Hercules" by which posterity might imagine the proportions of the whole heroic image.

It appears from several of Mr. WIRT's letters, published in the excellent biography written by the Hon. John P. Kennedy, to have been his desire to retire from the bar and devote himself to literature. The claims of a large family prevented his carrying out this intention. The friends of American literature must regret that this was the case.

As an orator, Mr. WIRT was correct and elegant, various as well as rich, and remarkably perspicuous. As to his personal qualifications for his art, his figure was pronounced by an eloquent panegyrist to be "dignified and commanding; his countenance open, manly and playful; his voice clear and musical; his whole appearance truly oratorical." His countenance expressed both benignity and intelligence. His enunciation was distinct; and it may be mentioned, both as an encouragement to such as labor under a like embarrassment, and as an example of what may be accomplished by care, under the guidance of good taste and a fine ear, that this was by no means the case at an earlier period. On the contrary, it was then somewhat hurried and harsh, and sometimes inarticulate. His action was unstudied and rather graceful than energetic.

# TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D.D.

THIS eminent divine was born of reputable parents, in Northampton, Massachusetts, in the year 1752. His mother was a daughter of the celebrated metaphysician and theologian, President Edwards, and is said to have inherited much of the uncommon powers of her father. She early perceived the promise of superior genius in her son, and cherished its progressive developments with all a mother's fondness. His advancement in learning, while almost in his infancy, was wonderfully rapid; and we are told by his biographers, that at the age of six years he studied through Lilly's Latin grammar twice, without the knowledge of his father. When he had just passed his thirteenth year, he was admitted a member of Yale college, and he went through his collegiate course with great credit. Immediately after graduating, he opened a grammar school in New Haven, which he continued for two years, when he was chosen a tutor in the college. During the period he was occupied with his school, he made a regular division of his time, devoting six hours of the day to his pupils, and eight hours to his private studies. He was for six years a tutor in the college, and was a laborious and successful teacher. So popular was he with the students, that on his resignation, and when only twenty-five years of age, a petition was presented by them to the corporation of the college, soliciting his appointment to the presidency. In directing his private studies at this time, he turned his attention more particularly to rhetoric and belles lettres, which had been but little cultivated in our seminaries previous to the revolution, and his early productions in prose and verse, in conjunction with those of Trumbull, Humphreys, and Barlow, formed an era in American literature.

In 1771 he commenced writing the "Conquest of Canaan," a regular epic poem, which employed his leisure hours until 1774, when it was completed. On receiving the degree of Master of Arts, in 1772, he pronounced an oration on the history, eloquence, and poetry of the Bible, which was published in this country and in

England. In order to economize his time at this period, and to avoid the necessity of exercise, he restricted himself to certain abstemious rules in diet, which, in the end, greatly impaired his health, and he was at length reluctantly compelled to lay aside his books. His physician recommended the daily use of severe bodily exercise, which he had endeavored to forego, and it is said, that during a twelvemonth he walked and rode upwards of five thousand miles, besides resuming, no doubt, that good old system of living to which he had been accustomed. The result, in a short time, was the complete restoration of his health, which continued good for the ensuing forty years of his life, and until he was attacked by his last illness.

In 1777 the different classes in the college were separated on account of the war, and he repaired, with his class, to Weathersfield, in Connecticut, where he remained from May to September. During this summer he was licensed to preach as a Congregational minister. In September he was nominated a chaplain in the army, and immediately joined the brigade of General Parsons, in the Massachusetts line. While in the army he wrote several patriotic songs, which were much admired and widely circulated.

In 1778 he received the melancholy tidings of the death of his father, upon which he resigned his situation in the army, and returned to Northampton, to assist his widowed mother in the education and support of her family. Here he remained about five years, laboring on the farm during the week, and preaching every Sabbath in one of the neighboring towns, besides establishing a school, which was largely patronized. During this period he was twice elected a member of the legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1783 he was ordained a minister in the parish of Greenfield, in Connecticut. Besides attending to his parochial duties, he also opened an academy here, which soon acquired a reputation then unequalled in our country; and in the course of twelve years, he taught more than one thousand scholars in the various branches of English and classical literature. During his residence at Greenfield he published the "Conquest of Canaan," for which, at the close of the war, he had obtained a list of three thousand subscribers. He however withheld its publication at that time, and now printed it at his own expense. It was shortly afterwards republished in England, and received the approbation of Darwin and Cowper, the former, particularly, commending the smoothness and melody of the versification. There are many splendid passages in this poem, and if it was not popular with all classes of readers, something may,

doubtless, be attributed to the theme; and although the author himself declared in after life that "it was too great an undertaking for inexperienced years," still, it must be considered an extraordinary production for a youth of twenty-two.

In 1794 he published his poem entitled "Greenfield Hill," named after the beautiful spot where he resided.

In 1795 he was elected president of Yale college, on the death of President Styles. On his accession to this office, he found the college in a depressed state, owing to the want of funds and other causes; but his distinguished reputation as an instructer brought to it a great increase of students, and he soon succeeded in establishing two new professorships, and in greatly extending the library and philosophical apparatus. He not only enlarged the sphere of instruction, but changed the whole system of government of the college, while he reformed the modes and elevated the tone of education, directing the students to a loftier aim in literary and moral improvement. The effects were soon abundantly visible, and Yale college has ever since ranked with the first institutions of learning in our country. During the twenty-one years he presided over it, a greater number of students were educated there than in any other similar institution.

In 1796 he commenced a regular course of travelling through New England and the state of New York, which he continued during the spring and fall vacations in each succeeding year, until a short time before his death. In these excursions, undertaken principally for the purposes of health, and of relaxation from his sedentary duties in the college, he was in the habit of making brief notes, upon the spot, of every thing interesting which he saw or heard, for the immediate gratification of his family; and these notes were afterwards written out by him, or to his dictation, by an amanuensis, and have been published since his death, under the title of "Travels in New England and New York," in four volumes octavo. This work contains a mass of useful and interesting information upon a great variety of topics, with amusing anecdotes and graphic sketches of scenery and character. A most valuable portion of it is its historical notices of the origin and customs of the aborigines of our country. He also left behind him, ready for the press, a complete system of divinity, contained in one hundred and seventy-three discourses or lectures, which formed his course in the college as professor of theology, and which have been published, both in England and this country, under the title of "Theology Explained and

Defended." He continued the active performance of his duties until near the close of his life, and heard the recitation of a theological class a week before his death. During his illness, which continued about two years, he occasionally occupied himself in poetical composition, to divert his mind from his painful sufferings. Four days previous to his death, he performed the last of his literary and earthly labors; and as he laid his manuscript aside, which was a theological dissertation, he said to his family, "I have now finished." He died at his residence in New Haven, January 11th, 1817, after severe and repeated attacks of his disease, the character of which, it is said, was not well understood.

In this brief sketch, it is not to be expected that full justice can be done to the character of President DWIGHT. We shall endeavor, however, to present our own views of it, derived from personal knowledge, and the observations of others, who have written his biography. As poetry did not form the business of his life, but was written merely as a mode of literary relaxation, there have been those among us who surpassed him in this department of literature, and as a poet, therefore, we do not ask for him the highest meed of praise. His mind, perhaps, was too logical and argumentative, his train of thought too methodical, and his memory too retentive of facts and details, and too much engrossed with them, to leave room for the display of that brilliant fancy which the highest flights of poetry require. His stronger mental powers he had subjected to a severe discipline from early youth, and we suspect that the philosophy of Bacon and Locke had always more charms for him than the music of the Doric reed. Still, some of his smaller poetical pieces are extremely beautiful.

But the fame of Dr. DWIGHT was not built upon his poetry, and does not rest upon it. As an instructer, he stood pre-eminent among his contemporaries, from the opening of his grammar school in New Haven, while a mere youth, to the close of his career as president of Yale college. He early made innovations upon previous methods of instruction, which were dictated by his powerful and original genius, and they were attended with signal success, as many who now occupy high places amongst us can bear witness. The art of the pedagogue, under his hands, expanded into a noble vocation, which commanded respect and veneration, and elevated science and literature in our country to a rank which, before his time, they had not attained. Over his pupils he exercised an unbounded influence, which was cemented in affection; and his unwearied efforts

at all times were, to pour into their minds that ripe knowledge, which it had been the whole business of his life to treasure up from study, meditation, and a familiar intercourse with the world. He was versed in almost every subject of science and art, and besides his own peculiar and professional studies, he had acquired inexhaustible treasures in natural philosophy, chemistry, history, geography, statistics, philology, husbandry, and domestic economy; and which were so methodically arranged in his mind, as to be always at command, and when he became animated in discourse, were poured forth from his lips in a perpetual stream of knowledge and wisdom.

Dr. DWIGHT'S colloquial powers were very great, and no one who had the pleasure of listening to his conversation ever failed to be impressed with a high opinion of his great attainments, and a profound respect for his character, which was heightened by his polished and courteous address. To strangers he was urbane and affable, and among the friends of his fireside, he intermingled, in his social converse, flashes of wit with practical wisdom, the *utile cum dulci*, in the most fascinating degree. His temper was ardent, but his heart was full of kindness, and probably no husband, father, or friend, was ever more beloved than he was by those to whom he stood in these relations. To them his loss was irreparable, and a whole community sympathized in their sorrows. His memory was a storehouse of anecdotes upon all subjects, which he had been industriously collecting from books, and a long and attentive observation of mankind; and little of what he had once learned was afterwards forgotten. Hence his society was greatly courted, and the attentions which he uniformly received from all classes of his fellow citizens, were richly repaid by the instruction and pleasure which his conversation afforded.

As a theologian he stood at the head of his profession, at the time of his death, and was inferior in learning to none of his predecessors, if we except, perhaps, his maternal grandfather, President Edwards. As a proof of the correctness of this high praise, we confidently refer to his voluminous theological works, and the criticisms which have been pronounced upon them, both at home and abroad. He was an eloquent preacher, and although his discourses were addressed to the understanding rather than the passions of his hearers, who were statedly the members of the college, yet, when the subject admitted of oratorical display, he showed himself equal to the highest efforts of the art. His sublime conceptions of the Deity, especially of the

divine attributes of love and mercy, on which he delighted to dwell, when embodied in his powerful and impressive language, were only second to those of the great English epic poet; while in touches of pathos, particularly in his funeral discourses, or over the premature grave of youthful genius, he opened a direct and easy avenue to the stoutest heart, and his appeals were irresistible. His voice was clear, distinct, and loud, and its inflections, although few, were musical and agreeable; the only defect in his elocution was, too marked and frequent an emphasis, and too little variety in his tones; but his manner was dignified, earnest, and impressive, evincing sincere and ardent piety, and a feeling heart. The effect of his eloquence was enhanced by his fine personal appearance, graceful gestures, and an eye of fire.

In his intercourse with his fellow men and his "walk with God," he was everything which the most devout Christian or rigid moralist could desire; and when he expired, our country was bereaved of a great and good man, and learning and religion sustained a loss not easily supplied. Nor can the influence of such a man ever die. His own family, and many other eminent men, whom he prepared for usefulness, yet diffuse blessings around them, and will continue to act on the world till time shall end. The works of the amiable and eloquent divine are yet teaching our ministers, and his name and memory in Yale College are still held in grateful remembrance. May our young men imitate his example, diffuse their usefulness, and find that —

> The sweet remembrance of the just,
> Like a green root, revives, and bears
> A train of blessings for his heirs,
> When dying nature sleeps in dust.

# JOEL BARLOW.

This distinguished poet, philosopher, and politician, was born in the village of Reading, in Connecticut, about the year 1755. At an early age, he had the misfortune to lose his father, a respectable farmer, in moderate circumstances, who left a family of ten children, with only a slender patrimony for their support. But the education of young Barlow was not neglected on this account, and after going through his preparatory studies, he was placed by his guardians at Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, where he remained a short time, when he was transferred to Yale college, New Haven. He here displayed a talent for poetical composition, which attracted the notice of Dr. Dwight, then a tutor in the college, and perhaps, the flattering encouragement he received from this distinguished man, fixed the character of his future life, over which, through all its vicissitudes, a devotion to the muses predominated.

At this period, the revolutionary war was raging, and young Barlow, impelled by patriotism, and that enthusiasm which formed a marked trait in his character, took up arms in the service of his country, entering as a volunteer in the militia ranks of his native state. He, however, still continued a member of the college, and only sallied into the field during the vacations. He was engaged in various encounters with the enemy, and is said to have borne a part in the warmly contested battle of White Plains.

In 1778, he received the degree of bachelor of arts, and on that occasion, pronounced an original poem, which was afterwards published. On leaving college, he made choice of the profession of the law, and entered zealously upon its studies, but relinquished them in a few months, on being strongly urged by his friends to qualify himself for the Christian ministry, with a view to enter the army as a chaplain; and after only six weeks preparation, he was licensed, and immediately repaired to the camp to commence upon his new duties; in the performance of which, he gave general satisfaction, and was much respected as a preacher. He, however, did not neglect

the muse, but employed his leisure in composing the "Vision of Columbus," which afterwards formed the basis of his great epic poem, "the Columbiad;" and occasionally wrote patriotic songs and addresses, in conjunction with Dr. Dwight, also a chaplain in the army, and Colonel Humphreys, which are supposed to have had a considerable influence in exciting and keeping alive the enthusiasm of the soldiery.

On taking the degree of master of arts, in 1781, he recited another original poem, entitled the "Prospect of Peace," which he afterwards incorporated in the Vision of Columbus, and which appears with some alterations in the Columbiad. About this period, he married Miss Baldwin, a daughter of the Honorable Abraham Baldwin, then of New Haven, and subsequently of Georgia, which state he represented for many years in the senate of the United States.

BARLOW remained with the army until the acknowledgment of our independence in 1783, when he abandoned the clerical profession, and reverted to his original plan of pursuing that of the law; with which view he removed to the city of Hartford, where he settled himself, as he probably imagined, for life. In addition to his legal pursuits, and for the purpose of immediate support, he established a weekly paper, and gained considerable reputation by various original articles upon the subject of politics, which were novelties at that day.

About the same period, he was employed by an association of the clergy of Connecticut, to revise Dr. Watts' version of the Psalms, so as to adapt them to the new order of things in our country; which service he performed to the satisfaction of the churches; and he also added some original hymns of his own composition, besides versifying some Psalms which had been omitted by Dr. Watts. A distinguished critic* has said of one of these—the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm,—that it possesses "all the elegance and polish of language of the most highly finished modern poetry." The volume was published in 1786, and was used for many years as the authorized version of the Congregational Churches of New England. In the following year, the "Vision of Columbus" was published, with a dedication to Louis XVI., and, in a few months afterwards, it was reprinted both in London and Paris. He now relinquished his newspaper, and opened a bookstore, principally for the purpose

* See "Biography of JOEL BARLOW," published in the Analectic Magazine, in 1814.

of disposing of his own productions. This object being accom plished, he again resumed the practice of the law; but his success in this arduous profession was not very flattering; he was deficient in forensic abilities, and his previous desultory studies and varied pursuits were certainly not friendly to the acquisition of profound legal knowledge. He soon abandoned the bar, and engaged in other scenes, which led him from his native country, and at length to fortune, and a wider fame.

In 1788, he embarked for Europe, charged with an important land agency, and after passing a short time in England, he crossed over to France, where he concluded his agency to the satisfaction of his employers, but without much pecuniary advantage to himself. The revolution was then in progress; and embued as he was with republican principles, and enthusiastic by character, he was induced to remain in that country, in order to watch the development of the grand drama, which, we doubt not, he sincerely believed would result in the happiness of the people, by the overthrow of corrupt and despotic power.

In 1791, he returned to England, where he remained a year or more, and published the first part of a political work entitled "Advice to the Privileged Orders," which, with the addition of a second part, has since been several times reprinted. This publication attracted the notice of the celebrated Mr. Fox, who pronounced a formal eulogy upon it in the house of commons. In 1792, he published a short poem entitled "Conspiracy of Kings," which was suggested by the coalition of the European sovereigns against republican France. In the same year he addressed a letter to the national convention, in which he criticises their first constitution, and recommends the abolition of the royal power, and the severance of church and state. Towards the close of the same year, the London constitutional society, of which he was a member, voted an address to the national convention, and deputed Mr. BARLOW and another member to present it. He was received in France with great respect, and complimented with the rights of citizenship, an honor which had been conferred upon General Washington and General Hamilton.

From this period, BARLOW, for a time, fixed his residence in France, fearing, as is supposed, to return to England, in consequence of the resentment of the government being pointed against him, on account of his political writings and connections in that country. He afterwards accompanied a deputation of the convention to the newly acquired territory of Savoy, to organize it as a

department of the republic. He spent the winter at Chamberry, where, at the request of his friends of the convention, he wrote an address to the people of Piedmont, recommending them to throw off their allegiance to "the man of Turin, who called himself their king." During this winter he wrote the poem, entitled, "Hasty Pudding;" which is one of the happiest of his productions, and shews, that wherever he was a wanderer, and in whatever scenes he was engaged, there existed in his mind endearing recollections of childhood and of home. This poem, by an excess of eulogy, perhaps, has been compared to Goldsmith's "Deserted Village."

From Savoy he returned to Paris, where he continued to reside for three years, and, with the exception of a translation of Volney's Ruins, forebore all literary occupation. He, however, engaged in various commercial speculations, by which he realized a handsome fortune. About the year 1795, he was sent as an agent on private business to the north of Europe, and soon after his return, he received from President Washington the appointment of consul to Algiers, with powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with the dey, and to ransom all American citizens held in slavery on the coast of Barbary. He immediately proceeded on his mission, crossing through Spain, over to Algiers. He concluded treaties with the dey, and with Tunis and Tripoli, and redeemed and sent home all the American captives whom he could discover, amounting to about one hundred.

In 1797, he resigned his consulship, and returned to Paris, where he again entered into successful commercial speculations, devoting his leisure to political writings, and in 1805, after an absence of nearly seventeen years, he returned to his native country, with the determination of fixing his residence in it for the rest of his life.

With this view, he chose a beautiful situation within the District of Columbia, and reared upon it a mansion, which he dignified with the name of Kalorama; here he lived in an elegant and hospitable manner, associating on terms of intimacy and friendship, with our most distinguished citizens. But the native energies of his character would not permit him to remain idle, and he immediately engaged with great zeal in sundry efforts for the advancement of science and the arts among his countrymen. One of his schemes was the establishment of a national academy, to be under the patronage of the general government, and similar to the National Institute of France. This had been a favorite project with Washington, and also received the approbation of President Jefferson; but on being laid before congress, it failed to receive their sanction. Defeated in this effort,

he now turned his attention to the revision and publication of his great epic, and in 1808, the Columbiad made its appearance in a splendid volume, embellished with several fine engravings, which were executed in London by the first artists. It was dedicated to Robert Fulton, with whom BARLOW was on terms of great intimacy, being accustomed to regard him, indeed, as his adopted son. This dedication was alike honorable to both, and showed a better taste than the courtly dedication of the "Vision of Columbus" to one of the monarchs of Europe.

After the publication of the Columbiad, BARLOW employed himself in making a collection of historical documents, with a view of writing a general history of the United States; but in 1811, while occupied in these quiet literary labors, he was unexpectedly nominated by President Madison, minister plenipotentiary to the court of France. He accepted the mission, and as is well known, made every effort to negotiate with the Emperor Napoleon, a treaty of commerce, and of indemnification for former spoliations, but without effect; being perpetually baffled by the intrigues of the French diplomatists.*

At length, in October, in 1812, he was invited by the Duke de Bassano to a personal conference with the emperor at Wilna, in Poland. He immediately started on this journey, travelling night and day in a most inclement season of the year, and through countries wasted by war, and which could scarcely afford him a comfortable meal. The consequence was, that from his privations, and exposure to the severities of the weather, he was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, from which he never recovered. He died on the twenty-second of December, 1812, at Zarnavica, an obscure village in Poland, near Cracow. He had not reached his destination, and consequently did not effect the object of his mission, but he is entitled to much credit for the energy and perseverance which he manifested not to lose the opportunity of an interview with the emperor, which he was induced to think would result favorably to the interests of his country.

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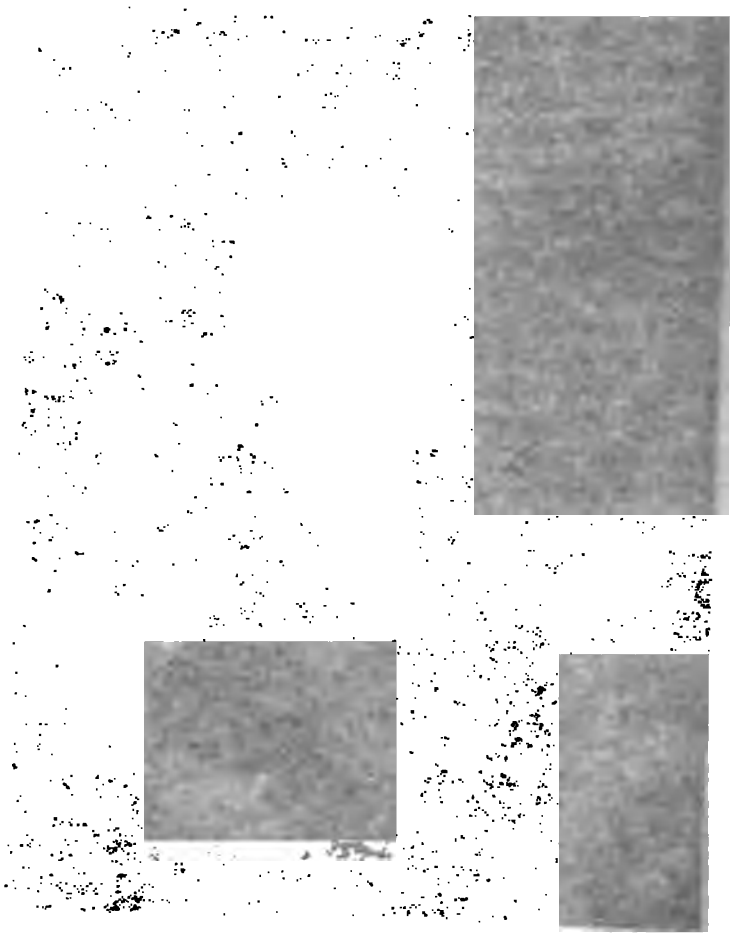
* The writer of this sketch has been told by an American gentleman, who was in Paris at the time, and intimate with the minister of foreign affairs, the Duke of Bassano; that the wily diplomatist questioned him about the peculiar traits of Mr. BARLOW's character. The gentleman, who personally knew Mr. BARLOW, candidly replied that he believed the American minister possessed the ordinary vanity of men in general, and besides, being an author and a poet, he doubtless had his share of the professional egotism of his class. The duke, it is said, immediately procured one of the splendid copies of the Columbiad, and caused it to be placed in a conspicuous part of his library, where it could not fail to attract the notice of the author on his interviews.

In Paris, every honor was paid to his memory as a man of letters, and a distinguished public functionary. The celebrated Helen Maria Williams wrote his epitaph, and an eulogy was read before the society for the encouragement of national industry, by Dupont de Nemours. In the following year, an account of his life and writings, in quarto, was published in Paris, accompanied by an extract from the Columbiad, translated into French heroic verse.

Mr. BARLOW is described as having been an amiable man in private life, of domestic habits, and of grave and dignified, but not courtly manners. He was reserved in mixed company, having little sprightliness or facility of general conversation; but upon subjects which excited him, or formed the theme of his studies, he conversed with animation and interest. His mind was of a philosophical cast, and better fitted for the examination of matters requiring patient and profound thought, than to "wander in fancy's fairy fields."

BARLOW's prose style has been correctly described as perspicuous and forcible, as bearing the stamp of an active, acute, and powerful mind, confident of its own strength, but without native grace, and with little elaborate elegance; while much of his poetry is highly polished, and sometimes magnificent, although it may seem to lack somewhat of the divine inspiration of the muse. It was judiciously modelled after the poetry of Pope and of Goldsmith, and is always correct in its versification. Although BARLOW may not rank among the few distinguished epic poets who have appeared in the world at rare intervals, still, in the opinion of many, he is to be classed, if not as the best poet, at least among the best, which our country has produced. How many of the modern English poets, who have attempted to write an epic, are his superiors, we leave the critics to judge.

Upon the whole, from his superior natural genius, which was early noted and acknowledged, his expanded knowledge of the world, his moral, philosophical, and political disquisitions, the public stations which he held, his pure and ardent patriotism, developed in the revolution, and sustained throughout his life; his staunch, orthodox, and unbending republican principles; his poetic talents, and polished productions; the amiability and benevolence of his private character, and purity of his public life: JOEL BARLOW well deserves, and will maintain, an elevated rank among the distinguished men of our country.



# JOHN TRUMBULL.

Of the ease and ability with which our countrymen adapt their talents to a variety of pursuits, we have already given some examples; the present subject affords another illustration of that peculiar trait of American character.

John Trumbull was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, on the 6th of June, 1756. He was the youngest son of the first Governor Trumbull; his mother's maiden name was Faith Robinson, the fifth in descent from the Reverend John Robinson, often called the father of the pilgrims, whose son came into the country in the year 1621. The carelessness or ignorance of the family physician had nearly consigned our infant genius to a life of idiocy, or an early grave; after being afflicted with convulsions nine months, it was discovered that the bones of his skull had been allowed to remain lapped over each other from his birth, but by skilful applications, and maternal care, they were adjusted, and, as we have heard him express it with filial veneration, "he owed his life a second time to his mother." At Lebanon, he went to school to Nathan Tisdale. He received, under the tuition of this gentleman, an excellent education, and entered the junior class at Harvard college, in January, 1772, and graduated in 1773. Finding himself to be a better scholar than those with whom he was associated, he was not a very diligent student, and to amuse himself, he frequently visited a respectable French family in the neighborhood, and learned to read and write their language. He searched the college library for books on the arts, and amongst them found Brook Taylor's "Jesuites' Perspective Made Easy"; this work he studied thoroughly, and copied all the diagrams. He in the same period copied several pictures which the college possessed: among others, an irruption of Mount Vesuvius, and a copy by Smybert, of Van Dyck's Head of Cardinal Bentivoglio. He had, before he went to college, somewhere picked up the title page of a book called "The Handmaid to the Arts," and had obtained a copy of the work from London, so that we may suppose his early

paintings were not the rude daubs of an ignorant boy. At this time Copley was in Boston, and TRUMBULL's first visit to that distinguished artist happened to be made at a time, when he was entertaining his friends shortly after his marriage: he was dressed on the occasion, in a suit of crimson velvet with gold buttons, and the elegance of his style and his high repute, impressed the future artist with grand ideas of a painter's life. After leaving college, he painted his first original picture, the Battle of Cannæ, and soon after, the Judgment of Brutus. But at this time, the stirring incidents of the controversy with Great Britain, attracted the attention of all ages and all ranks, and TRUMBULL abandoned the palette and became an active politician. His father wished him to become a clergyman, but the son not liking the profession, gave the reins to his patriotic zeal, and was made adjutant in the first Connecticut regiment, which was stationed at Roxbury. Here his drawing became of service. Washington was desirous to obtain a draft of the enemy's works, and hearing of the young adjutant's ability, he requested him to attempt it. By cautious approaches, he had succeeded in obtaining a knowledge of the position of every gun, and had proceeded in his drawing, when a deserter came into the camp and communicated all that was necessary to be known and a slight sketch of the works, which confirmed TRUMBULL's, so far as he had gone. In August, 1775, he was appointed aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, and after some two or three months, major of brigade. In that situation, he became more particularly known to the adjutant-general, Gates, by the careful accuracy of his returns; and in the following year that officer having been appointed to the command of the northern department, he was induced to offer TRUMBULL the office of adjutant-general. He accompanied the army to New York, and on the 28th of June, 1776, departed with General Gates; at which date his rank as colonel and adjutant-general commenced. Shortly after their arrival at Ticonderoga, he reconnoitered Mount Independence, which had not at that time been explored; and he again more fully examined it as a military position, in company with General Wayne, which led to its occupation. While here, he was impressed with the belief that the whole position was commanded by Mount Defiance, (Sugar-loaf Hill,) a height situated nearly at an equal distance from Mount Independence and Ticonderoga, and he took an occasion to mention his opinion; but his suggestion was not acted upon, and the next campaign, General St. Clair was left to defend the original lines with three thousand men. The British took possession of Mount De-

fiance, from which, according to their own account, they could observe every movement of the Americans within their lines. The abandonment of the entire position became immediately necessary, and St. Clair deserved great praise for his well-conducted retreat, by which the army was saved from capture, and became the nucleus of that force, which afterwards prostrated the British power in the northern department. In the mean time, the adjutant-general had remained without a commission: this rendered his situation peculiarly painful, and what rendered it more so was, that other and inferior officers did receive commissions, giving them rank equal to his own. After the termination of the campaign of 1776, General Gates received orders from the commander-in-chief to join him with all his disposable force behind the Delaware, which he did, a few days before the battle of Trenton. News was at that time received, that the British had landed at Newport, Rhode Island, with considerable force. General Arnold was ordered to proceed to Rhode Island to assume the command of the militia and oppose the enemy, and TRUMBULL was ordered to accompany him as adjutant-general. The head quarters were established at Providence for the winter, and there, in the month of March, he received his commission as adjutant-general, with the rank of colonel, but dated in September, instead of the previous June. Whatever was the cause of this is unknown; but it added to the chagrin and vexation of the officer commissioned, and within an hour he returned it, under cover, to the president of congress, accompanied with a letter, perhaps too concise and laconic, stating the impossibility of serving, unless the date was altered to correspond with the date of his actual service. A correspondence of some length ensued, when his resignation was accepted, and thus terminated his military career.

After a short visit to Lebanon, he went to Boston, to profit by the study of the works of Copley and others. Here he became acquainted with Mr. John Temple, afterwards, the first consul-general of Great Britain to the United States; through him he ascertained the possibility of his going in safety to London, to study under Mr. West. In May, 1780, he embarked for France, and after a short stay at Paris, reached London in August. He was kindly received by Mr. West, under whose liberal instruction, he pursued his studies without interruption until about the middle of November; at that time, the news of the death of Major André was received, and occasioned a violent irritation in the public mind. It was his misfortune to lodge in the same house with another American, who had been an officer, against

whom a warrant had been issued to apprehend him for high treason; instructions had been given to arrest, (ad interim,) the painter, and secure his papers. The following day, he was examined before the principal magistrates of the police, and was committed to prison. On hearing this, the apprehensions of Mr. West were aroused, for he well knew that he had enemies about the person of the king; he, therefore, hastened to the palace and asked an audience, which was granted, and he proceeded to state to the king his personal knowledge of the conduct of TRUMBULL while in London. After listening to him patiently, the king replied; "West, I have known you long, and I dont know that I have ever received any incorrect information from you on any subject, I, therefore, fully believe all that you have said on the present occasion. I sincerely regret the situation of the young man, but I cannot do any thing to assist him,—he is in the power of the law, and I cannot interfere. Are his parents living?" To which Mr. West answered that his father was. "Then I most sincerely pity him," said the king. After a moment's pause he continued, "Go immediately to Mr. TRUMBULL, and give him my royal assurance, that in the worst possible event of the law, his life will be safe." This assurance of course, softened in a great degree, the rigors of a winter's confinement, and enabled him to proceed with his studies. He copied, during the period, the St. Jerome of Correggio, which is now in the collection at Yale college. At length a turn took place in the affairs of the two countries, and the British government began to relax their severity. TRUMBULL, after about eight months detention, was admitted to bail by a special order of the king in council, on condition of quitting the kingdom within thirty days. His securities were West and Copley. He crossed over to Ostend, thence proceeded to Amsterdam, and embarked for Philadelphia in the South Carolina frigate; but the ship falling short of water and provisions, they put into Corunna, in Spain. There he left that ship, and took passage to Bilboa, whence he returned home in January, 1782. Fatigue, vexation, and disappointment, brought on a fit of illness, which confined him at his father's the principal part of the ensuing summer; after which, he again visited the army, then at Verplank's Point, and entered into an arrangement with his brother and others, for the supply of the army.

In the spring of 1783 the news arrived of the preliminaries of peace having been arranged. He was then at Lebanon, and his father took the occasion to urge him to pursue the profession of the law. He represented it as the leading profession in a republic, and

above all others likely to reward industry and gratify ambition. To which his son replied; that so far as he understood the law, it was rendered necessary by the vices of mankind; that a lawyer must be able, not only to defend the right, but must be equally distinguished for his acuteness and skill in extricating rogues from the consequences of their villainy; and as he viewed the life of a lawyer, it must be passed in the midst of all the wickednesses and meannesses of the baser part of mankind: he then went on to give his ideas of an artist's life—referred to Copley and West as living examples, and enlarged on the honors and rewards bestowed on artists by the ancients, particularly at Athens. "My son," replied the governor, "you have made an excellent argument, but its operation is against yourself: it serves to satisfy me, that in the profession of the law you might take a respectable stand, but in your case you have omitted one point, as the lawyers express it." What is that, sir?—"That Connecticut is not Athens." He then bowed, left the room, and never afterwards interfered in the choice of a profession.

In November, 1783, Colonel TRUMBULL again embarked for England, where he pursued his studies indefatigably under Mr. West; and in 1785, had made such progress, as to copy for him his celebrated picture of the battle of La Hogue. TRUMBULL composed and painted immediately afterwards, "Priam bearing back to his palace the body of Hector:" the success of which induced him to commence a project which had long been floating in his mind, of painting a series of pictures of the principal scenes of the revolution. He began with "The Battle of Bunker Hill," which was composed and finished in the early part of 1786, and "The Death of Montgomery before Quebec" immediately afterward. These pictures met with general approbation not only in London, but in Paris, Berlin, Dresden, and other parts of the continent, and as soon as possible they were placed in the hands of eminent engravers. To Mr. Adams in London, and Mr. Jefferson in Paris, while painting their portraits, the artist communicated his project of painting a series of national pictures, which they highly approved, and by their concurrence the subjects were chosen, several of which have since been executed. Finding the painting of Bunker Hill had given offence to some in London, and being desirous to conciliate, he determined to paint one subject from British history, and selected "The sortie of the garrison of Gibraltar." Of this subject, the first study was made in oil, twelve by sixteen inches; this was presented to Mr. West as an acknowledgment for his kindness; then a second

twenty by thirty inches was carefully and laboriously finished, with the intention of having it engraved:* being tenacious of rendering the composition as perfect as in his power, he rejected that picture, and began another six feet by nine. This occupied the greater part of the year 1788, and in the spring of '89, it was exhibited by itself in Spring Garden, London, and received great applause. It was engraved by Sharp, the first engraver of the age; and has since been purchased by the Atheneum at Boston.

In the mean time, the present constitution of the United States had been framed, and the first session of congress was appointed to be held in New York, in December, 1789; the time had arrived, therefore, for proceeding with the American pictures. He arrived in New York in November of that year, and painted as many of the heads of the signers of the declaration of independence, as were present. Washington sat for his portrait at Trenton and Princeton, and in the summer of 1790, TRUMBULL painted a full length portrait of him for the city of New York. Two years after, he painted another full length of Washington, for the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and a third was purchased by the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, and presented to the college at New Haven. This latter picture was regarded by the artist, the finest portrait of *General* Washington, in existence. It represents him at the most critical moment of his life—on the evening before the battle of Princeton, meditating his retreat from a superior enemy. A few other portraits were painted about this time, but the years 1791–2–3 were principally spent in painting original portraits for the historical pictures. In the accomplishment of his great design, he travelled from New Hampshire to Charleston, South Carolina. The heads in the small set of pictures, now at New Haven, were all painted at this period from the living men. Having accomplished his object of obtaining authentic portraits of all the subjects required, he again left his native land, in the capacity of private secretary to Mr. Jay, the envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, in 1794.

Difficulties had existed between the United States and Great Britain, ever since the war, of the most embarrassing character.

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* This picture was sold to Sir Francis Baring, for five hundred guineas, who contracted for the purchase of a series of pictures of American subjects, at the same price; subject to the contingency of the approbation of the higher powers. He found that the possession of the proposed pictures would give offence in a very high quarter, and he, therefore, retracted.

The negotiations ended in a treaty, signed November, 1794. The manner in which Mr. Jay conducted those negotiations, rendered the duties of the secretary merely nominal, and he had leisure to attend to the engraving of his three large copper plates, at that time in progress in London, and at Stutgard, in Germany, at an expense of upwards of three thousand guineas. After the treaty was signed, TRUMBULL went to Paris, and he soon saw from the condition of the continent that all hope of profit from the sale of engravings was at an end; in consequence of which, he gave up his professional pursuits, and embarked in commerce, until August, 1796, when he returned to England, and on the twenty-fifth of that month, he was appointed the fifth commissioner for the execution of the seventh article of Mr. Jay's treaty. This placed him in a new and difficult situation: the British commissioners, Sir John Nicholl and John Anstey, Esq., and the two Americans, Mr. Gore and Mr. Pinckney, were all distinguished lawyers. It was easy to foresee, that these gentlemen would frequently differ with respect to the rights of their respective countries; and it would remain with the fifth commissioner to decide; an arduous duty for one who had not been educated for the legal profession, and it placed him under the necessity of going through a course of reading, on the law of nations and maritime law.

Multitudes of complaints were made by the subjects of both nations, and were carefully examined and decisions made on each separate case, on its own merits. The commission was not concluded until the beginning of the year 1804. The number of cases examined amounted to between three and four hundred; and the amount awarded to be paid by the British government exceeded ten millions of dollars, which were punctually paid: the awards against the United States amounted to about half a million. In all cases of importance, written opinions were recorded; one copy of which is in the hands of Colonel TRUMBULL. The principles laid down and acted upon in those cases, will hereafter form an important part of the maritime law of nations, and have already been of value to many individuals, in the settlement of claims against the Russian and other governments. The important station of the fifth commissioner, who was the umpire between parties differing on almost every point, required all his skill to harmonize them, and it may, from the nature of the case, be concluded, that to his prudence and firmness the favorable results are to be mainly attributed.

In June, 1804, Colonel TRUMBULL returned to the United States, and resumed his pencil in New York. After a residence of about

four years, the embarrassment of commerce affected his profession so deeply, that he determined to seek employment abroad. He accordingly went to London, where he painted a number of pictures, with the hope of attracting some attention, but so unpopular was everything American, that he failed completely. At the close of the war, he returned for the last time to New York, and in 1816 he was engaged by the government to paint the four large pictures now in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, on which he was occupied seven years: after which he was principally employed in finishing his former sketches, and in painting copies of his national pictures, on a uniform scale of six feet by nine.

Finding the government not likely to order the complete series, nor any individual desirous to possess them, he presented the entire set of the original paintings to Yale College, and a building has been erected by "the President and Fellows" of that institution for their preservation.

He was first chosen President of the American Academy of the Arts, in 1817, and continued to be annually reëlected to that office. He died in the city of New York, November 10, 1843, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

The high character of Colonel TRUMBULL claims more than we can here say of him. He was one of the last models of a by-gone generation,—a fine example of the gentlemen of the old school. With much of dignity and courtesy in his manners, he was strictly honorable, rigidly abstemious, frank in his address, and proud of his profession. From early youth to his last days he blended himself with the history of his country. He drew for that country, by turns, the sword, the pen, and the pencil. The sword and the pen were wielded in company with others, but as a painter of American history, he stood almost alone, and even though many may rise who shall prove his equals, he must stand to all time as the first among them.

# JOHN JAY.

THE revocation of the edict of Nantes compelled a large number of the best citizens of France to abandon their country, or apostatize from their religion. Among those huguenots who sought a home upon a foreign shore was Pierre Jay, the great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir, who emigrated to England in 1685, with a sufficient property to place him above dependence.

His son, Augustus, was abroad when his family left France, and shortly afterwards returned without being aware of the troubles and flight of his friends. He soon found means to escape from the risk and danger to which he was exposed in his native land, and embarked for America.

He landed at Charleston, S. C., but finding the climate unfavorable to his health, he proceeded to the north, and finally settled in New York, where he married the daughter of Mr. Balthazar Bayard, who was also a descendant of a protestant French family. Surrounded by friends who were able and willing to promote his interests, he successfully engaged in mercantile pursuits, and lived in the enjoyment of the respect and esteem of his fellow citizens until 1751, when he died at the age of eighty-six.

He left three daughters, and one son, named Peter, who was married to Mary, the daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, by whom he had ten children. Peter Jay was a merchant, diligent in business, persevering and prudent; so that by the time he had arrived at the meridian of life, he had acquired a sufficient fortune, and retired to an estate he had purchased at Rye, on Long Island Sound.

His wife was a lady of mild temper and gentle manners, and of a cultivated mind. Both were pious. The subject of this sketch was their eighth child, of whom it will now be our business to speak more particularly.

JOHN JAY was born in the city of New York, on the 12th of December, 1745. From childhood he manifested a grave and studious disposition. He acquired the rudiments of English and Latin

grammar under the instruction of his mother; and at eight years of age, was placed at the boarding school of the Rev. Mr. Stoope, at New Rochelle, where he remained two years; after which he had the advantage of a private tutor until he was fourteen. In 1760, he entered King's, now Columbia college, where he pursued his studies with a devoted application and perseverance, and conducted himself with exemplary propriety. Some defects, which had probably passed unnoticed in the circle of his own family, gave him no little trouble when he came to mingle with strangers. His articulation was indistinct; his pronunciation of the letter L, exposed him to ridicule; and he had acquired such a habit of rapid reading, that he could with great difficulty be understood. These imperfections by a determined effort he corrected. Before he had completed his collegiate course, he had decided to study law, and therefore, paid particular attention to those branches which he considered most useful in his future profession. He graduated on the 15th of May, 1764, with the highest collegiate honors, and soon after became a student in the office of Benjamin Kissam, Esq., a lawyer of eminence. The late Lindley Murray, who was his fellow student for about two years, thus speaks of him. "His talents and virtues gave at that period pleasing indications of future eminence; he was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind. With these qualifications, added to a just taste in literature and ample stores of learning and knowledge, he was happily prepared to enter on that career of public virtue by which he was afterward honorably distinguished and made instrumental in promoting the good of his country.

In 1768, Mr. JAY was admitted to the bar, and immediately entered on an extensive and profitable practice. He married in 1774, Sarah, the daughter of William Livingston, Esq., afterwards governor of New Jersey. At this time his professional reputation was high, and his prospects bright, but the political horizon was darkened by the approaching storm. He espoused the cause of his country with all the ardor of youth, while the dignity and gravity of his deportment gave him the influence of riper years. Where he was known he was confided in, and the reputation of his talents and sterling qualities went before him. Thus he entered the broad field of politics, not to work his way to eminence by slow and toilsome steps, but to take his stand at once among the sages and chosen fathers of the people.

The first news of the Boston Port Bill roused the patriots of New

York. A public meeting was held on the 16th of May, 1774, when a committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the other colonies. Mr. JAY was one of this committee, and also of a sub-committee to answer the letters received. He was afterwards elected one of the delegates from the city of New York to the first congress, which convened at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. He took his seat on the first day of the session. He was not yet twenty-nine years of age, and was the youngest member of that immortal band of patriots. All of them have long since departed; Mr. JAY was the last.

He was a member of the first committee appointed by congress, and was the author of the "Address to the People of Great Britain," which Mr. Jefferson, without knowing the writer, pronounced "a production of the finest pen in America;" an opinion which it justly deserved, and which must have been generally conceded by his associates, if we may judge by the numerous labors of a similar character which were afterwards awarded to him by congress, and by the New York convention.

The address to the inhabitants of Canada, that to the people of Ireland, the appeal of the convention of New York to their constituents, which congress earnestly recommended to the serious perusal and attention of the inhabitants of the United States, and ordered to be printed in German, at the expense of the continent; and the address from congress to their constituents, on the state of their financial affairs, were among his subsequent productions; and they all bear the stamp of his genius, and evince the glowing fervor of his patriotism.

It is impossible to read these addresses without being reminded of the wells of classic learning, which supplied the rushing current of his thoughts with a style and language of never failing vigor and attractive beauty. It would scarcely be extravagant to say, they united the eloquence of Cicero with the pious patriotism of Maccabeus; it is certain that they prove their author to have been deeply imbued with the spirit of the ancient patriots, and not less those of Palestine than of Greece and Rome.

After Mr. JAY's return from congress, he was elected by the citizens of New York, a member of a "committee of observation;" and soon after of a committee of *association*, with general and indefined powers, which they exercised, in the absence of all legislative authority, by calling on the citizens to arm and perfect themselves in military discipline, and by ordering the militia to patrol the streets

at night to prevent the exportation of provisions. The provincial congress assembled in May, 1775, and relieved the committee of their responsibility.

When the second congress assembled in Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775, Mr. JAY again attended as a delegate from New York. The battle of Lexington had occurred in the recess, and it was now apparent that hostilities were inevitable. An army was therefore to be organized, and preparations made for defence. To act on the defensive, and "to repel force by force," was the utmost extent of hostility which this congress would sanction; there were some of the members, and many of the citizens, who were not prepared to throw off their allegiance to the king, at least not until some further efforts were made to obtain redress. That all such might be left without excuse, Mr. JAY advocated another petition to the king, which he succeeded in carrying against a strong opposition. It proved, as he had anticipated, a useless appeal to the monarch, but added numerous friends to the American cause.

The exposed situation of New York, induced congress to recommend to the provincial legislature to arm and train the militia; but unfortunately that province was distracted by a much larger proportion of tories than any other of the northern colonies, and in many instances the commissions for the field officers were declined. In this strait, Mr. JAY accepted of a colonel's commission, but he never acted under it, as his presence in congress was deemed of more importance. Until the spring of 1776, congress had restrained their measures within the bounds of forbearance, and had kept open the door of reconciliation; it then became apparent that the British ministry were determined to listen to no remonstrances, nor to stop short of a complete subjugation of the colonies. Congress, therefore, determined to abandon their hitherto defensive system, and to employ their arms in annoying their enemies, and especially to assail their commerce by privateers, which could speedily be despatched from numerous ports. This movement they thought necessary to explain and justify, and the task of preparing a suitable declaration was assigned to a committee of which Mr. JAY was a member. In April, 1776, while attending the general congress, he was elected to represent the city and county of New York in the colonial congress, which assembled on the 14th of May. Subjects of the highest importance were here to be acted on, which required all the firmness and wisdom of the ablest statesmen. The presence of Mr. JAY was required. He attended accordingly, for by appointment of this body

he held his seat in congress, and not by an election of the people. The convention therefore had a right to command his presence, and he was directed not to leave them until further orders. He was not permitted to return to his seat in the continental congress, but was constantly and actively engaged during the residue of the year in his native state, and was thus deprived of the honor of being in his seat when the declaration of independence was adopted. Had he been there he would have advocated it; for although he has been "*estimated*" to have "kept the proceedings and preparations a year behind,"* nothing can be more certain than that he was himself at least a year in advance of most of his own constituents.

On the 31st of May, Mr. JAY reported to the New York convention, or congress, a series of resolutions, which were agreed to, calling on the people to elect deputies to a new convention with power to *establish a form of government.* That he recommended the establishment of a regular government in the state, and thereby renouncing all connexion with the British crown, is sufficiently expressive of his views on the subject of independence, but the following may also be added. The new convention with power to establish a permanent government for New York, met at Whiteplains on the 9th of July, and on the same day the declaration of independence was received from congress. This important document was immediately referred to a committee of which Mr. JAY was chairman, and he almost *instanter* reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring these united colonies free and independent states, are cogent and conclusive; and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered this measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it."

A few days after this, he was appointed a member of a secret committee, for the purpose of obstructing the navigation of the Hudson river. The activity and zeal which he displayed on this occasion were no doubt stimulated by the unbounded confidence which he could not but feel was reposed in his integrity and judgment. He was dispatched by the committee to Connecticut for a supply of cannon and shot, "with authority to impress carriages,

* Jefferson's Correspondence, Letter CLXXIV.

teams, sloops, and horses, and to call out detachments of the militia, and generally to do, or cause to be done, at his discretion, all such matters and things as he might deem necessary or expedient to forward and complete the business committed to his care."

He was successful in his exertions, and in a short time had twenty cannon delivered at West Point.

So numerous and important were the subjects which claimed the attention of the convention at this eventful period, that the special business of their appointment could not be taken up until the 1st of August, when a committee of which, as usual, Mr. JAY was one, was appointed to report a form of government; but the report was not perfected until the following year. In the mean time the convention exercised all the powers of government with a vigor and firmness, which, when the circumstances of the state are considered, are truly astonishing. The ability, energy, and decision of Mr. JAY, kept him in constant employment, so that we may safely say, whatever was done, he was among the foremost and most industrious performers.

He prepared the draft of the constitution which, with several amendments, was adopted on the 20th of April, 1777, but having been a few days before summoned to attend his dying mother, some articles which he intended to offer as amendments were omitted and some additions made, of which he did not approve. The state of New York being now provided with a constitution, Mr. JAY received the appointment of chief justice of the supreme court, and as the judges of that court were by the new constitution restrained from holding any other office than that of a delegate to congress on special occasions, and no such occasion existing at that time, his seat in congress was vacated.

Before the convention dissolved in May, 1777, they appointed a council of safety, from among their own members, to administer the government until the legislature should be organized. As one of this council, Mr. JAY was almost constantly occupied until the following September. On the 9th of that month, the first term of the supreme court was held at Kingston, and the chief justice presided. This was one of the most interesting periods of his official life: the government under which the people had been born, and which their education and habits had taught them to venerate, had just been abolished, and a new one formed on new principles, in the very seat of war, and in the presence of victorious enemies. Ticonderoga had fallen; one British army was approaching from

the north, another from the south; the disaffected, numerous and active, and the friends of their country, sinking in despair. How worthy is the patriot of our admiration, who, at such a crisis, could retain his firmness, and with an unruffled mind and undiverted eye look forward to the end of his labors, with the full assurance of the righteousness of the cause, and of the favor of heaven. Such a patriot was JOHN JAY.

The controversy between the legislature of New York, and the people of Vermont, afforded a "special occasion" to send the chief justice as a delegate to congress. He accordingly took his seat in that body on the 7th of December, 1778, and three days after, was elected president, on the resignation of Mr. Laurens. This office he held until the 27th of September, 1779, when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Spain. To obtain the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and to procure pecuniary aid, were the objects of his mission.

He sailed on the 20th of October, in the frigate Confederacy, which had been ordered to France, to carry home the French minister, Mr. Gerard; but on the 7th of November, the ship was dismasted in a storm, and with difficulty reached Martinico on the 18th of December; on the 28th, Mr. JAY embarked at St. Pierres in the French frigate Aurora, and arrived at Cadiz on the 22d of January, 1780. Having communicated his commission to the Spanish court, he was invited to Madrid, but at the same time was given to understand, that the formalities of an official reception must be deferred. He soon found, that although Spain was at war with our common enemy, she was not inclined to form an alliance with us, to grant us aid, or even to acknowledge our independence, unless on conditions which he was little inclined to comply with. The Spanish minister required that the United States should guaranty to Spain the possession of Florida, and the exclusive right of naviga tion on the Mississippi. To this, Mr. JAY, who looked forward to the future consequences of thus shutting up the mouth of one of our most important rivers, would not consent.* To add to the perplexity of

* Dr. Franklin approved of Mr. JAY's resistance to this proposition, observing, "poor as we are, yet as I know we shall be rich, I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price, the whole of the Mississippi, than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my front door."

his situation, he learned, soon after his arrival in Spain, that congress had adopted a singular expedient for raising money, (on the presumption of a successful negotiation,) by drawing on him for the payment of bills to the amount of half a million of dollars at six months sight.

These bills soon began to be presented for acceptance. He obtained the promise from the Spanish government, of the means to meet drafts to the amount of about thirteen thousand dollars, and this encouraged him to hope for further pecuniary aid; but he was held in suspense until it was probably supposed that his embarrassments had rendered him more docile, when he was again urged to relinquish the claim of the United States, to the navigation of the Mississippi. This he again declined, and he was then informed that Spain would advance no more money. Mr. JAY then came to the resolution of becoming personally responsible, by accepting all future bills which might be presented, and thus at least preserve the credit of the United States, for the next six months, and trust to a change of circumstances for a disembarrassment. By the assistance of Dr. Franklin, who was then in France, and some further aid from Spain, all the bills which he accepted were paid, though not all of them as they became due. While thus laboring to overcome the great difficulties of his mission, he had the mortification to learn that congress had authorized him to relinquish the right of navigating the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the United States. According to these new instructions, he presented the plan of a treaty, but at the same time he required, on his own responsibility, that a treaty should be immediately concluded, or that the United States should not in future be bound by the offers now made. This proposal was not accepted, and the negotiation was again deferred.

Early in the summer of 1782, having been appointed one of the commissioners for negotiating a peace with England, Mr. JAY proceeded to Paris, where Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, was authorized to continue negotiations with him; but these progressed no further than an interchange of the views of their respective governments in relation to the western boundary of the United States. It will not be necessary to explain the instructions which were given to the commissioners of the United States, charged with the important duty of terminating the war, further than to state generally, that they were such as left the terms of peace under the control of the French minister, whose advice and opinions were to govern the American commissioners. These instructions were particularly displeasing to Mr. JAY, who thought the dignity of his

country compromised, and her minister degraded, by being placed under the direction of a foreign power. He nevertheless continued to act under the commission, but earnestly requested congress to relieve him from his station. What may have been the motive of the desire to control the negotiations, or what the policy of the French minister in the advice which he gave, and the opinions declared in relation to the American claims of territorial limits, and the fisheries, we shall not stop to inquire; the motives and acts of our own minister, are more to our present purpose, and these were undoubtedly of the highest and purest character. During his residence at Madrid, he had imbibed suspicions that the French court, though sincerely desirous to render us independent of Great Britain, were not willing to favor our views at the expense of Spain, or even to see us acquire such power and importance as might lead us to dispense with their patronage, and to pursue our own objects without regard to their wishes or advice. These suspicions were strengthened after his arrival at the French capital, by the influence employed to dissuade him and his colleagues from insisting on several points which they deemed of high importance, and which they finally obtained.

His enlarged views of the future greatness of America, his respect for her honor, and his firm determination never to be an instrument to diminish it, led him to disobey the instructions which degraded him to the station of a subaltern agent of a foreign minister, and obedience to which would, in his opinion, endanger the interests, and tarnish the glory of his country.

When the negotiation commenced, Mr. JAY and Dr. Franklin were the only American commissioners present. Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens were their coadjutors; the former joined them on the 26th of October, the latter on the 29th of November. In July, 1782, Mr. Richard Oswald was authorized by the king of Great Britain, "to treat, consult of, and conclude a peace or truce, with any commissioner, or commissioners, named or to be named by the thirteen *colonies* or *plantations* in North America," &c. According to their instructions, Dr. Franklin and Mr. JAY consulted Count de Vergennes, and he advised them to proceed; but Mr. JAY objected to treat with the British commissioner, unless the independence of his country was first recognised, and he took upon himself, without the concurrence of Dr. Franklin or the knowledge of the French minister, to assure Mr. Oswald of his determination not to enter upon any negotiation in which he should be recognised only as a com-

missioner from *colonies*. The British cabinet being informed of this objection replied, that it was intended to recognise the independence of the United States by treaty, but Mr. JAY continued firm in his resolution, and at length Mr. Oswald received a commission authorizing him to treat with the "*commissioners of the United States of America.*"

The negotiation now commenced, and in a few weeks the preliminary articles were agreed to without the knowledge of the French government, and were signed by Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. JAY, and Mr. Laurens, on the 30th of November, but were not to take effect until peace should be concluded between Great Britain and France. By these articles all the claims of the United States were granted, and France being thus deprived of all pretext for continuing the war, a preliminary treaty was arranged and signed between France and Great Britain, on the 20th of January, 1783; congress proclaimed a cessation of hostilities on the 11th of April, and on the 15th, formally ratified the treaty. In September, the definitive treaties between the belligerent powers were signed at Paris, and the American definitive treaty was ratified by congress on the 14th of January, 1784.

Mr. JAY'S health had suffered severely from the climate of Spain, and his subsequent close application to business had added to his indisposition. By the advice of his physician he visited Bath, and derived essential benefit from the use of the waters. He then returned to Paris, and being freed from the cares of public duty, he had leisure to enjoy the polished and elevated society in which he moved. But his heart's desire was now to return to the land of his nativity, and a private station. He declined the appointment as a commissioner to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and having heard it rumored that he would probably be appointed minister to England, he wrote to the secretary of foreign affairs earnestly requesting not to be considered a candidate for that station. As soon, therefore, as the definitive treaty was signed, he prepared to return home, he resigned his Spanish mission, and having attended to the settlement of his accounts, he left Paris on the 16th of May, 1784, and arrived in New York on the 24th of July. He was greeted by his friends and fellow citizens in the most affectionate and grateful manner, and learned that on the probability of his return having been made known to congress, that body had elected him their secretary for foreign affairs, and soon after his arrival, the state legislature appointed him one of their delegates to

congress. He continued at the head of the department of foreign affairs, and in the faithful discharge of its laborious duties until the organization of the government under the federal constitution.

It is generally known that Mr. JAY used extraordinary exertions to secure the adoption of that instrument by the state of New York, where the question was held for some time in suspense. It will not be improper in this place to review the immediate causes of those exertions, with a sketch of his opinions and views of passing events. Mr. JAY held the office of foreign secretary a little over four years; during that time all the powers of government were vested in congress. It had been perceived even before the conclusion of the war, that this body possessed in fact very little real power, and when the first great object of the contest had been secured, every succeeding occasion for the exercise of sovereignty betrayed the imbecility and insufficiency of the government. The official station of Mr. JAY constantly brought this embarrassing fact to his view to his great mortification and regret. His letters written at this period express his wishes distinctly. His own words will best illustrate his sentiments. In a letter to J. Lowell, in 1785, he says; "It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of *one great nation* whose territory is divided into different states, merely for more convenient government. In another to John Adams, in 1786, he repeats the sentiment thus. "It is one of the first wishes of my heart to see the people of America become *one nation* in every respect." This was the abstract desire induced by occasions of frequent occurrence. The most prominent of these were, the Algerine war in 1785, when congress could not command the funds to redeem the captives, nor to build a navy which he recommended. In 1786, the negotiations with Spain were renewed in relation to the disputed navigation of the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the states, which broke off unadjusted, as Spain refused to grant the right, and the United States persisted in claiming it. Mr. JAY was an honest minister, he never hesitated to express his opinions, and on this occasion he remarked to congress, that if they insisted on the navigation of the Mississippi at that time, "the Spanish forts on its banks would be strengthened, and that nation would then bid us defiance with impunity, at least until the American nation should become more really and truly a nation than it is at present. For unblessed with an efficient government, destitute of funds, and without public credit, at home or abroad, we should be obliged to wait in patience for better days, or plunge into an unpopular and danger-

ous war." About the same time it was proposed to negotiate a loan in Europe, and the subject being referred to him, he reported against it, considering it improper "because the federal government in its present state, is rather paternal and persuasive than coercive and efficient. Congress can make no certain dependence on the states for any specific sums to be required and paid at any given periods, and consequently are not in capacity safely to pledge their honor and faith for the repayment of any specific sums they may borrow." When, therefore, a convention was appointed, and a constitution formed and recommended to the states for their approval, which promised, if not all he desired, at least as much as could reasonably be expected, he was better prepared than most men in the country for advocating its adoption. Still, it was for some time doubtful whether it would be approved or not. There was a strong party in the opposition, some of whom thought the old confederation with modifications would be sufficient, and some were unwilling to relinquish any of the rights of the states; thus originated two great parties in the country. Mr. JAY was not a member of the convention by whom the constitution of the United States was framed, but its superiority to the articles of confederation was too obvious to allow of any hesitation on his part; he accordingly united with Mr. Madison and Colonel Hamilton, in the publication of a series of essays in explanation and commendation of the document, when it was submitted to the people for a final decision. These essays, collected in the well known work, "the Federalist," now form a standard book of reference on most great constitutional questions. After the second, third, fourth, and fifth numbers of these essays were written by Mr. JAY, he was for some time prevented from a continuation by an unfortunate occurrence. Some young physicians, after violating the grave for subjects of anatomical study, had the folly to exhibit parts of limbs at their window to the passengers in the street. A serious riot was the consequence. The magistrates of the city of New York, to protect the physicians from violence, shut them up in prison, but the mob, determined not to be disappointed in their vengeance, assembled for the purpose of executing summary punishment on the culprits. Mr. JAY, and other gentlemen, armed and placed themselves under the command of Colonel Hamilton, to prevent the outrage. This party was attacked by the rioters with stones, one of which struck Mr. JAY on the temple, and nearly deprived him of life. He however recovered, but only in time to write the sixty-fourth number of the Federalist. He also published

an address to the people of the state of New York, in favor of the adoption of the constitution, and when the legislature called a convention to decide the question, Mr. JAY was elected one of the delegates from the city. The convention consisted of fifty-seven members, forty-six of whom were understood at the time to be *anti-federalists;* nevertheless, the constitution was adopted; but only by a majority of three votes.

Mr. JAY received the very gratifying testimony of the respect and confidence of President Washington, who, on the organization of the departments, requested him to select any office he might prefer. He did so, and was accordingly appointed the first chief justice of the United States.

In April, 1794, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, to negotiate a treaty for the regulation of commerce, and a settlement of the disputes between the two countries, in relation to the infractions of the treaty of peace. On the 19th of November following, he concluded and signed with Lord Grenville a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the United States. This treaty gave great offence to France, and produced a fearful excitement in the United States. Forty years have since passed away, and at no subsequent period has the stability of the government been placed in more imminent peril. The judgment of Washington, however, approved the treaty, and his firmness carried the country through the crisis, but the minister who negotiated the treaty was assailed and denounced by a numerous and powerful antagonist party. For this Mr. JAY was prepared, as his letters written at that time declare. "I carried with me to Europe," said he to Edmund Randolph, "and I brought back from thence a fixed opinion, that no treaty whatever with Great Britain would escape a partial, but violent opposition. I did clearly discern that any such treaty would be used as a pretext for attacks on the government, and for attempts to diminish the confidence which the great body of the people reposed in it." In another letter, addressed to General Henry Lee, after expressing a sentiment similar to the above, he said, "apprised of what had happened in Greece and other countries, I was warned by the experience of ages not to calculate on the constancy of any popular tide, whether favorable or adverse, which erroneous or transitory impressions might occasion. The treaty is as it is, and the time will certainly come, when it will universally receive exactly that degree of commendation or censure which, to candid and enlightened minds, it shall appear to deserve."

Mr. JAY arrived at New York, in May, 1795, and found that he had been elected governor of the state. He felt bound by the circumstances under which he had been elected, to accept the honor conferred, and accordingly resigned the office of chief justice. He held the station of governor until 1801, when, having declined to be considered again a candidate, he withdrew from public life to the peaceful shades of his paternal estate at Bedford.

President Adams attempted to retain his services for the public, by nominating him to the senate for his former seat on the bench of the supreme court, but he had deliberately made up his mind to retire, and declined the honor, on the ground "that his duty did not require him to accept it." The public services of Mr. JAY fill a broad space in the history of his country, but the value of them has been variously estimated amidst the zealous strife of contending political parties, and it is perhaps even yet too soon to attempt an adjustment of the balance. We shall therefore be content to leave it to the calm judgment of our readers.

That Mr. JAY, at the age of fifty-six, should have abandoned all participation in public affairs, excited some surprise at the time; but a view of his private character and motives affords a sufficient explanation.

Through all his life, he was influenced mainly by a sense of duty. At no period the creature of impulse, whatever he undertook to do, was the result of cool, dispassionate conviction, so that whatever was the labor or the difficulty of the performance, he pressed forward regardless of the consequences. So long as he believed it to be his duty to serve the public, he remained at his post, and having "borne the heat and burden of the day," until he saw the institutions of his country, which he had assisted to rear, effective and prosperous, he naturally turned towards a station and mode of life that from early youth had been his desire. Firm in his political principles, and decidedly attached to one of the great parties of his day, he was yet tolerant of the opinions of others; he never deserted his friends, nor sought to purchase an opponent; he never asked a vote nor an office, nor did he ever remove an officer for his political views. Being therefore neither factious, ambitious, nor anxious for distinction, he was willing, when he saw the administration of the government passing out of the hands of his political friends, to give a fair trial to their successors.

In 1802, he had the misfortune to lose his excellent and beloved

wife, which left a breach in the family circle at Bedford, that was long and painfully felt.

Mr. JAY'S life exhibited a beautiful illustration of the power of religion. It was never laid aside for convenience, nor brought forward on special occasions for effect, but it was a pervading influence equally acknowledged and obeyed from day to day, in public and in private. In the very storm and tempest of political passion—and there is none more reckless—his private character was always respected by his antagonists. By his friends he was venerated. In his retirement, he devoted much of his time to study and reflection; and while he was prudent, economical and diligent in the improvement of his estate, he lived in constant preparation for "another and a better world."

He was a plain republican in his manners; warm and enduring in his friendships, and liberal in his benevolence. He was a member of most of the great religious associations of his time, and succeeded Elias Boudinot, as president of the American Bible Society.

For several years before his death, Mr. JAY'S health had gradually declined. In 1827, he was dangerously ill, so that his recovery was not expected. When apprised of his danger by his son, he received the information without any apparent emotion, but in the course of the day he conversed with cheerfulness and animation.

On being urged to tell his children on what his hopes were founded, and whence he drew his consolation, he replied, "they have THE BOOK." From this attack, however, he recovered, but continued feeble and gradually declining until the 14th of May, 1829, when he was suddenly seized with palsy, which almost deprived him of the power of speech, though his mind remained perfect to the last.

He departed on the 17th of the same month, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The public acts of Mr. JAY form an important part of our early national history. A memoir of his life by his son, William Jay, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers, has long since been published in two volumes, which we hope will find a place in the library of every American, who designs to set before his children a bright example of public and private virtue.

"It would be difficult," says a good writer, "to point out a character in modern times more nearly allied to the Aristides drawn by Plutarch, than that of JOHN JAY. Justice, stern and inflexible, holds the first place in his exalted mind." Yet Plutarch admits, "that although in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-

citizens, Aristides was inflexibly just, in affairs of state he did many things, according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice." In this respect the resemblance fails between the ancient and the modern, JOHN JAY never departed from the strictest rule of right; and the patriot and the Christian may equally point to him with admiration and applause.

It has been well said by an able writer in the North American Review, "Little need be said of the public character of a man, who possessed the unlimited confidence of Washington, and of whom John Adams said, 'when my confidence in Mr. JAY shall cease, I must give up the cause of confidence and renounce it with all men.' He must have been no common man, who, at the early age of thirty, could take his station by the side of a band of patriots and statesman, inferior in foresight, prudence, wisdom, and practical ability, to none in any former age, and establish at once a reputation, which went on increasing as he advanced in years. There is a prevailing impression, that the habits of investigation, acquired in the practice of the law, are apt to disqualify the greatest minds for the comprehensive views which are essential in those who administer the government of nations. Such certainly was not the case with Mr. JAY, and as little could it be affirmed of those with whom he was associated. Into all the stations he was called upon to fill, he carried with him those excellent moral qualities, which gave dignity and influence to his private character, and these, united as they were with exalted intellectual gifts, made him as much respected as he was eminent in all."

# JOHN EAGER HOWARD.

In the history of the world there is no instance, where love of country has been exhibited in bolder deeds, than by those who carried us through the struggle for independence. The battles which were fought employed but few persons, it is true, compared with the immense armies brought into the field by more recent warfare; but then the stake for which they contended was of such magnitude, that the present political condition of the civilized world can be traced up to its being won. The narratives of battles fought by armies of fifty or a hundred thousand men upon a side, confuse the reader by their number and perplexing generalities; but we view the struggle of smaller bodies, with some portion of the intense interest with which we would regard a tournament, where every thrust of the lance or stroke of the sword would be visible with painful distinctness. In the hard fought battles of the south, we can trace the movement of almost every corps; and although much controversy has arisen within the last few years respecting many of them, yet none has existed with regard to the conspicuous part acted by the subject of this memoir.

John Eager Howard was born on the 4th of June, 1752, in Baltimore county, and state of Maryland. His grandfather, Joshua Howard, an Englishman by birth, having when very young left his father's house, in the vicinity of Manchester, to join the army of the Duke of York, subsequently James the second. during Monmouth's insurrection, was afterwards afraid to encounter his parents' displeasure, and came to seek his fortune in America. This was in the year 1685–6. He obtained a grant of the land in Baltimore county, upon which Colonel Howard was born, (and which is still in the family,) and married Miss Joanna O'Carroll, whose father had lately emigrated from Ireland. Cornelius, one of his sons by this lady, and father of the subject of this sketch, married Miss Ruth Eager, whose estate adjoined, and now constitutes a part of the city of Baltimore. The Eagers came from England, probably soon after

the charter to Lord Baltimore; but the records afford little information prior to 1658, when the estate near Baltimore was purchased. During the interval of a century that elapsed between the emigration of these early settlers and the revolution, the ancestors of Colonel HOWARD appear to have pursued the quiet occupation of cultivating their farms, without participating in the political concerns of the colony. At least, no traces can now be discovered of their activity. JOHN EAGER HOWARD, not educated for any particular profession, was induced to take up arms by the circumstances of his country. Upon his expressing a desire to take a part in the approaching struggle, one of the committee of safety offered to procure for him the commission of colonel; but he expressed his distrust of being able to perform the duties appertaining to so high a rank, and preferred the humbler station of a captain. Such a commission was accordingly obtained, in one of those bodies of militia termed flying camps, in the regiment commanded by Colonel J. Carvil Hall. The commission was made dependant upon his ability to recruit thirty men.

Such was the esteem in which Captain HOWARD was held in his neighborhood, that he enlisted a company in two days, and marched immediately to join the army. He was present at the battle of White Plains, and continued to serve until December, 1776, when his corps was dismissed. In the preceding September, congress had wisely resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war, the officers of which were to be commissioned by congress; and in the organization of the number allotted to Maryland, Captain HOWARD was requested to accept the situation of major. The winter of 1776–7 was industriously devoted to raising troops upon the continental establishment, and early in April we find him marching with part of his regiment to join the army at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, with which he continued until the British crossed over to Staten Island, on the 30th of June, when he received information of the death of his father; upon which Colonel Hall sent him home to superintend the recruiting service. In the following September he rejoined the army, a few days after the battle of Brandywine, and at the battle of Germantown gave conspicuous proofs of that cool courage which afterwards so greatly distinguished him. As the incidents of this action have become the theme of discussion, in consequence of Judge Johnson's account of it in his life of Greene, and as this is not the appropriate occasion to review the controversy, even if sufficient materials were at hand,

we shall confine our remarks to the personal share and observation which Major HOWARD experienced. He was then major of the fourth regiment, commanded by Colonel Hall; and in consequence of the latter's being disabled early in the action, and Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith having been detached to Fort Mifflin, Major HOWARD assumed the command of the regiment, which formed a part of Sullivan's division, upon the extreme left when displayed, and upon the west side of the Germantown road. In the attack these troops encountered the British corps of light infantry, which had been posted some distance in advance of the main body, and after a sharp contest, pursued them through their encampment, Major HOWARD passing with his regiment amidst the standing tents. Continuing upon the west side of the road, and passing Chew's house without any serious injury from the fire of the British troops then occupying it, the Maryland troops (almost exclusively composing Sullivan's division) advanced about a quarter of a mile farther towards the main body of the British army, where they maintained their position until the unsuccessful attack upon the house caused a retreat. Upon again passing this temporary fortress, (the unfortunate character of which was amply redeemed as far as Major HOWARD was personally concerned, by his finding it, a few years afterwards, the summer residence of the lady whom he married,) the garrison sallied out and attacked their retiring foe; but a return of the fire killed the officer who commanded the party, and no farther molestation ensued. It was the opinion of Colonel HOWARD, that instead of Musgrave's retreat into the house being a prompt movement, the hasty resolution of military genius stimulated by the pressure of instant danger, it was only the execution of a plan previously digested and arranged in case of attack. After the marriage of Colonel HOWARD, he was repeatedly shown, both by the family and neighbors, the ground where Musgrave had been encamped for some time previous to the battle, and which, from its vicinity to the house, was probably selected for the purpose. So firmly was he persuaded of this, that he did not believe Musgrave to have been with the light infantry when they were defeated, as above stated. The occupancy of the house and consequent halt of a portion of the American troops, certainly exercised a most pernicious influence upon the result of the battle, although it could not have been the only cause of failure, because a body of troops (Muhlenberg and Scott's brigades) passed it upon the eastern, whilst the Marylanders were passing it upon the western side. Those upon the east penetrated

so far into the British lines, that the gallant ninth Virginia regiment was assailed in front and upon both flanks. Mathews surrendered, but nine bayonet wounds bore evidence that he had resisted to the very last extremity. If the question should occur, why the concert of operations was not renewed after so many corps had passed Chew's house, the answer is given by referring to the dense fog which covered the earth, so that the positions of the various divisions could not be ascertained. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney described the fog as follows:—"the only way we knew of the enemy's being drawn up in opposition to us was, by their fire and whistling of their balls; and it was some time after they retreated before we knew of it, and that only by our not hearing the whistling of their balls, and seeing no flashes in our front."

Colonel HOWARD said of it, "whilst we were halted, the British army were formed in the school house lane, directly in our front, six or seven hundred yards from us; but owing to the denseness of the fog, which had much increased after the action commenced, we could not see them." The impossibility of knowing where the various divisions of the army were at any given moment, and of transmitting orders to them, even if their positions had been known, caused the battle to become a disjointed series of detached encounters, instead of a concentrated effort to support a fixed plan.

From this period Colonel HOWARD remained with the army, and was present at the battle of Monmouth, although the particular share that he bore in it cannot now be ascertained.

In April, 1780, the Maryland and Delaware troops, amounting to fourteen hundred infantry, were detached from the army to effect a diversion to relieve the city of Charleston, South Carolina, then besieged by the British under Clinton. On the third of May these troops embarked upon Elk river, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, but were not able to reach Petersburg, in Virginia, until June. As Charleston capitulated on the twelfth of May, they could not possibly have reached the upper part of Carolina in time to have produced any relief to that important post, even if the facilities of transportation in the bay had then been as great as they now are; but it may be interesting to compare the tedious progress of those troops with the rapid movements effected under our present improved communications. In the summer of 1832 an Indian war broke out upon the upper waters of the Mississippi, and a portion of the United States army was transported thither from Old Point Comfort, in Virginia. Their route led them over a part of the same course, revers-

ing the direction, which had been followed in 1780; but instead of occupying a month in traversing the waters of the Chesapeake, as had been necessarily the case with the continental army, they had in that space of time reached the far distant regions of the west, in the state of Illinois. Twenty-four hours would now be sufficient to move fourteen hundred troops from the head of Elk river to Petersburg, an operation that in 1780 employed a month. When Washington moved upon Cornwallis, it required four weeks to transport his army from the Hudson to James river, and even then we must admire his celerity; now one week would be more than enough.

On the first of June, 1779, Major HOWARD had received the commission of "lieutenant-colonel of the fifth Maryland regiment, in the army of the United States, to take rank as such from the 11th day of March, 1778;" and he availed himself of the vicinity of the troops to Baltimore to arrange his affairs; as, to use his own language, "our march to the southward seemed to be a forlorn hope, and my return very uncertain." He sold some property, which he converted into half joes, leaving fifty in the hands of a friend, as a provision in case of his being taken prisoner.

Upon the arrival of the Baron de Kalb at Petersburg, he received intelligence of the fall of Charleston; but wisely judging that the presence of a body of regular troops in the south would sustain the fortitude of the militia, he pressed on rapidly to Deep Run, in North Carolina, where he was obliged to halt for want of provisions. On the 25th July General Gates arrived in camp and took command of the army, whilst the baron contented himself with the Maryland division. Flushed with the victory and honor obtained at Saratoga, Gates overlooked all considerations flowing from the ill condition of his stores and barren nature of the country before him, and marched forward in quest of his enemy. Blinded by the luxuriance of the laurels upon his brow, and heedless of the advice of those who knew the country, he pressed on, and supported his troops upon such supplies of lean beef as could be caught in the woods; and which, when boiled with unripe corn, constituted their chief diet. Some of the officers directed the meat to be made into soup, and with a refinement of luxury that would amaze the cooks of the present day, contrived to render it palatable by emptying into it the contents of the bags which held their hair powder. It is but justice to mention, however, that they were not confined exclusively to this meagre diet, but occasionally enlarged their bill of fare by the very agreeable addition of green peaches.

Whilst Gates was making a night march to attack the British army, commanded, as he thought, by Lord Rawdon, it so happened that they were marching to attack him. Cornwallis had arrived from Charleston with a strong reinforcement on the 14th, and resolved to assault Gates in his camp. On the night of the fifteenth the light troops encountered each other in the woods to their mutual astonishment. Then, for the first time, Gates learned that Cornwallis was his antagonist, and that the enemy were equal, if not superior to himself, in numbers. A retreat was impossible, and nothing remained but to form the line of battle. Nothing is more trying to militia than to await an attack. Drawn up in a line, and having nothing external to engage their attention, they turn their thoughts inward. The approaching battle is viewed through the magnifying mist of a heated imagination, and armed with unknown terrors, particularly if it is their first fight. An old soldier thinks of the chances of escape from death, if he thinks at all; a young one, of the danger of being killed. Reflection is of service to the first, but ruinous to the latter. In the darkness of night these circumstances act with double force. If to these considerations we add the reception of the disheartening intelligence that Cornwallis had reinforced the British army, it is easy to account for the bad conduct of the militia in the battle of Camden. They gave way early in the action, and thereby threw the pressure of the whole of the British troops entirely upon the two Maryland brigades, aided by a very few other gallant corps. One of these brigades (in which was Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD) was drawn up in a line with the rest of the army; the other was a short distance in the rear, with its right flank behind the left flank of its colleague. In this position they maintained the contest obstinately against superior numbers, and the front brigade at one time made a partially successful attempt to use the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD drove the corps in front of him out of line; and if the left wing of the American army had been able to occupy the attention of the British right, the fate of the day would probably have been propitious. But, attacked in front and flank by a simultaneous charge of horse and foot, the continental troops were overpowered and driven into the swamps, hitherto considered impenetrable. Colonel HOWARD succeeded in keeping a few of his men together, and being joined occasionally by other officers and men, reached Charlotte, about sixty miles off, on the 19th. The writer of this article once asked him

what he found during those three days for his men and himself to eat; his brief reply was, "some peaches."

In October a small supply of coarse clothing arrived in camp, and was appropriated in the first instance to the equipment of four companies of light infantry, which were formed into a battalion and placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD, to take a position nearer to the enemy. Early in December Greene arrived, and the command of the southern army was transferred to him with due solemnity. Soon afterwards, a detachment was placed under Morgan to act farther in the west; and in it we find Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD, having under him four hundred continental infantry, and two companies of Virginia militia under Captains Triplett and Tate. With these troops and Washington's cavalry, together with a considerable body of militia, Morgan fought the celebrated battle of the Cowpens, on the 17th January, 1781. It is not our purpose, either on this or any occasion, to encroach upon the province of the historian, by attempting to give a particular description of any of the southern battles, or to embark in a controversy with any author; but it is absolutely necessary to contradict the account of this affair, as it is recorded in Johnson's life of Greene; and we rest upon the manuscript or printed statements of Colonel HOWARD himself, whose retentive memory and scrupulous accuracy render his authority unquestionable. It was HOWARD, and not Morgan, who gave the order to the right company to change its front and protect his flank; and it was HOWARD who afterwards ordered the charge with the bayonet upon his own responsibility. We shall use his own language. "Seeing my right flank was exposed to the enemy, I attempted to change the front of Wallace's company; (Virginia regulars;) in doing it some confusion ensued, and first a part and then the whole of the company commenced a retreat. The officers along the line seeing this, and supposing that orders had been given for a retreat, faced their men about and moved off. Morgan, who had mostly been with the militia, quickly rode up to me and expressed apprehensions of the event; but I soon removed his fears by pointing to the line, and observing that men were not beaten who retreated in that order. He then ordered me to keep with the men, until we came to the rising ground near Washington's horse; and he rode forward to fix on the most proper place for us to halt and face about. In a minute we had a perfect line. The enemy were now very near us. Our men commenced a very destructive fire, which they little expected, and a few rounds occasioned great dis-

order in their ranks. While in this confusion I ordered a charge with the bayonet, which order was obeyed with great alacrity. As the line advanced, I observed their artillery a short distance in front, and called to Captain Ewing, who was near me, to take it. Captain Anderson (now General Anderson of Montgomery county, Maryland) hearing the order, also pushed for the same object; and both being emulous for the prize, kept pace until near the first piece, when Anderson, by putting the end of his spontoon forward into the ground, made a long leap, which brought him upon the gun and gave him the honor of the prize. My attention was now drawn to an altercation of some of the men with an artillery-man, who appeared to make it a point of honor not to surrender his match. The men, provoked by his obstinacy, would have bayoneted him on the spot, had I not interfered and desired them to spare the life of so brave a man. He then surrendered his match. In the pursuit I was led to the right, in among the seventy-first, who were broken into squads; and as I called to them to surrender, they laid down their arms and the officers delivered up their swords. Captain Duncanson, of the seventy-first grenadiers, gave me his sword and stood by me. Upon getting on my horse, I found him pulling at my saddle, and he nearly unhorsed me. I expressed my displeasure, and asked him what he was about. The explanation was, that they had orders to give no quarter, and they did not expect any; and as my men were coming up, he was afraid they would use him ill. I admitted his excuse, and put him into the care of a sergeant. I had messages from him some years afterwards, expressing his obligation for my having saved his life."

At one time Colonel HOWARD had in his hand seven swords of officers who had surrendered to him personally, whilst he was "in among the seventy-first."

The moral effect of this victory was felt throughout the whole country. Congress voted medals to Morgan, Washington, and HOWARD, descriptive of their conduct upon that memorable day.

The action at the Cowpens is believed to have been the first in which the American troops fairly conquered the British, with the bayonet, in the open field; and no higher compliment could be paid to those engaged in it, than the subsequent conduct of Greene in ordering the Maryland line to use the bayonet in every battle.

In the extreme fatigue and danger incurred by the rear guard in protecting the retreat of Greene into Virginia, the subject of this memoir bore his full share. After refreshing and reinforcing his

army, that enterprising general resumed offensive operations, and marched into Carolina to fight his enemy. The battle of Guilford ensued, in which HOWARD again exhibited the discipline of his regiment, and won additional honor for himself. Having the advantage of one of his manuscript notes, we shall use his own language. "The second regiment was at some distance to the left of the first, in the cleared ground, with its left flank thrown back, so as to form a line almost at right angles with the first regiment. The guards, after they had defeated General Stephens, pushed into the cleared ground and run at the second regiment, which immediately gave way; owing, I believe, in a great measure, to the want of officers, and having so many new recruits. The guards pursued them into our rear, where they took two pieces of artillery. This transaction was in a great measure concealed from the first regiment by the wood, and unevenness of the ground. But my station being on the left of the first regiment, and next the cleared ground, Captain Gibson, deputy adjutant-general, rode to me, and informed me that a party of the enemy, inferior in number to us, were pushing through the cleared ground and into our rear, and that if we would face about and charge them, we might take them. We had been for some time engaged with a part of Webster's brigade, though not hard pressed, and at that moment their fire had slackened. I rode to Gunby and gave him the information. He did not hesitate to order the regiment to face about, and we were immediately engaged with the guards. Our men gave them some well directed fires, and we then advanced and continued firing. At this time Gunby's horse was shot, and when I met him some time after, he informed me that his horse fell upon him, and it was with difficulty he extricated himself. Major Anderson was killed about this time. As we advanced I observed Washington's horse, and as their movements were quicker than ours, they first charged and broke the enemy. My men followed very quickly, and we passed through the guards, many of whom had been knocked down by the horse without being much hurt. We took some prisoners, and the whole were in our power. After passing through the guards, as before stated, I found myself in the cleared ground, and saw the seventy-first regiment near the court-house, and other columns of the enemy appearing in different directions. Washington's horse having gone off, I found it necessary to retire, which I did leisurely; but many of the guards who were lying on the ground, and who we supposed were wounded, got up and fired at us as we retired."

Such is the modest narrative of one of the most spirited charges in the whole war.

After the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, which we must pass over, Colonel Gunby returned to his native state, to superintend the recruiting service, and left Colonel HOWARD in command of the regiment, from which he was transferred to the second at the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Ford, who never recovered from the wound received in that battle. At Eutaw, therefore, he had the command of the second regiment. When the Maryland line "swept the field with their bayonets," it fell to the lot of Colonel HOWARD to encounter the Buffs, whose resistance was so stubborn, that (according to Lee) many individuals of the Marylanders and of the Buffs were mutually transfixed with each other's bayonets. That the contest was obstinate, is evident from the loss sustained. Colonel HOWARD says in a letter, "nearly one half my men were killed or wounded, and I had seven officers out of twelve disabled; four killed, and three severely wounded." Towards the conclusion of the battle he himself received a ball in the left shoulder, which, passing entirely through, came out under the shoulder blade, and disabled him. In a letter to General Smallwood, written a few days after the battle, Greene says, "nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland line. Colonels Williams, HOWARD, and all the officers, exhibited acts of uncommon bravery; and the free use of the bayonet, by this and some other corps, gave us the victory."

Immediately after the battle Greene retreated about seven miles, and so long a time elapsed before Colonel HOWARD could have his wound dressed, that the surgeon, after bestowing upon him all the attention that a sincere friendship inspired, whispered to the attendant to be vigilant during the night; for if the wound began to bleed again, the patient would probably expire before assistance could reach him, unless it was instantly rendered. It is mentioned as an anecdote to illustrate the self-relying character of Colonel HOWARD, that when the surgeon visited him in the morning, he was much surprised to learn from his patient, that he had overheard the caution on the preceding night, and determined to remain awake himself, which he had accordingly done. As soon as he was able to be moved, he was carried to his native state, accompanied by the most affectionate commendations of General Greene, who observed in one of his letters, that Colonel HOWARD was as good an officer as the world afforded, and deserved a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes.

At the conclusion of the war Colonel HOWARD retired to his patrimonial estate, and soon after married Margaret Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, of Philadelphia; a lady whose courteous manners and elegant hospitality will long be remembered by the society of Baltimore, of which, as well as of the best company throughout the country, her house was the gay and easy resort. In November, 1788, he was chosen the governor of Maryland, which post he filled for the constitutional term of three years, during which period the federal government was adopted and put into operation, receiving all the support that the influence of the governor could bestow. In May, 1794, he was appointed a major-general of militia, but declined accepting the commission. In November, 1795, General Washington invited him to accept a seat in his cabinet, and take charge of the war department, but the offer was respectfully declined. "Had your inclination," said Washington in reply, "and private pursuits permitted you to take the office that was offered to you, it would have been a very pleasing circumstance to me, and I am persuaded, as I observed to you on a former occasion, a very acceptable one to the public. But the reasons which you have assigned for not doing so carry conviction along with them, and must, however reluctantly, be submitted to."

At the time of this offer he was a member of the senate in the legislature of Maryland, from which he was transferred, in 1796, to the senate of the United States, being elected first to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Potts, and afterwards for the full term of service, which expired on the 4th of March, 1803. In 1798, when it was probable that Washington would have to take the field again, HOWARD was one of the few officers whom he insisted upon naming, and whom he intended to bring to his aid as one of the brigadier-generals. But the threatening storm passed away, and in 1803 he finally withdrew from public life, devoting himself to his own private concerns, intermingled with the exercise of a liberal but unostentatious hospitality, and a participation in all leading measures for the advancement of the city of Baltimore.

After the lapse of a few years, the sound of the trumpet and drum broke in upon his retirement. The capture of Washington, in 1814, produced an excitement in the adjacent portion of the country, which can better be remembered or imagined than described. Amidst the din of preparation for resistance to the meditated attack upon Baltimore, a suggestion was made that it would be wise to capitulate. As soon as it reached Colonel HOWARD, the spirit of the old soldier

burst forth in the following indignant denunciation. "I have" said he, "as much property at stake as most persons, and I have four sons in the field. But sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country."

The committee of safety, of which he was a prominent member, left no effort untried to prepare for defence, and the result is recorded upon one of the most glorious pages of our history. A troop of aged men was organized to render such services as their infirmities would allow, and Colonel HOWARD was, by unanimous consent, placed at its head. Although this corps was intended to act only within the city, yet he had resolved to be present at the battle to offer his advice or assistance; but it occurred on the day preceding that on which he expected it to take place.

In 1821 he had the misfortune to lose his eldest daughter, and in 1822, his eldest son, John Eager Howard junior, whose character had secured the warm affection of a numerous circle of friends, and who had already filled, with universal approbation, some of the principal offices in the state. In 1824 he had the farther misfortune to lose his wife, and his own health began to decline. The effect of his early wound had always been felt upon his taking the slightest cold; but now his constitution suffered a gradual decay. In October, 1827, a slight exposure brought on a severe cold, which the most active treatment could not subdue. After a few days' illness, which he bore with inflexible and characteristic fortitude, he expired on the 12th, without a struggle or a groan.

His funeral was attended by the public authorities of the city, and an immense concourse of people. A numerous detachment of the military also escorted the remains of the soldier and patriot to their place of rest. One of the newspapers spoke of it in the following manner. "We do not remember ever to have witnessed a greater concourse than that which composed the funeral procession, and lined the streets along which it passed. A mournful interest appeared to pervade all ranks of the community, who flocked from every quarter to take a farewell glimpse of the remains of one, who had possessed, whilst living, their unbounded respect. The military appeared in fine order, and the hollow beat of their muffled drums told that a soldier had gone to his rest." Mr. Adams happened to be in Baltimore on the day of the funeral, which he attended, after sending to the family the following beautiful and appropriate letter.

"The President of the United States has received with deep concern the communication from the family of the late Colonel How-

ARD, informing him of the decease of their lamented parent. Sympathizing with their affliction upon the departure of their illustrious relative, he only shares in the sentiment of universal regret with which the offspring of the revolutionary age, throughout the union, will learn the close of a life, eminently adorned with the honors of the cause of independence, and not less distinguished in the career of peaceful magistracy in later time. He will take a sincere though melancholy satisfaction in uniting with his fellow citizens in attending the funeral obsequies of him, whose name has been long and will ever remain, enrolled among those of the benefactors of his country.

"*Baltimore*, 15*th October*, 1827."

At the ensuing session of the legislature of Maryland, resolutions were adopted of a highly complimentary character, and directing the portrait of the deceased to be placed in the chamber of the house of delegates. From the scene of his youthful exploits also, the voice of the house of representatives was heard declaring, "that it was with feelings of profound sorrow and regret, that South Carolina received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Colonel JOHN EAGER HOWARD of Maryland, and that the state of South Carolina can never forget the distinguished services of the deceased."

The beauty of the thought tempts us to make the following extract from an obituary notice written by the most celebrated dignitary of the Catholic church. "One after another, the stars of our revolutionary firmament are sinking below the horizon. They rise in another hemisphere as they set to us; and the youth of other times will gaze upon their lustre, as he learns their names and marks them clustering into constellations, which will recall to his mind some interesting event of our period of struggle."

The character of Colonel HOWARD partook of the strength of the school in which it was framed. His first lessons, received in the thoughtful infancy of our country, had imbued his mind with the nervous and unadorned wisdom of the time. His manhood, hardened in the stormy season of the revolution, was taught patience by privation, and virtue by common example. By his worth he had won the painful station of a champion who was not to be spared from the field of action, and his sense of duty was too peremptory to permit him to refuse the constant requisitions of this perilous honor. In the camp, therefore, amidst the accidents of war, his moral constitution acquired the hardihood, and his arm the prowess of ancient

chivalry. He reached in safety the close of that anxious struggle, with a mind braced by calamity and familiarized to great achievements. It threw him on the world in the vigor of his days, gifted with the qualities of a provident, brave, temperate, and inflexible patriot. The characteristics thus acquired, never faded in subsequent life. Pursued by an unusual share of honor and regard as a founder of the liberties of his country, he was never beguiled by the homage it attracted. A fortune that might be deemed princely, was never used to increase the lustre of his station or the weight of his authority, but was profusely dispensed in public benefactions and acts of munificence. With the allurements of power continually soliciting his ambition, he never threw himself into the public service but when the emergencies of the state left him no privilege of refusal. Under such conditions only, he administered the grave duties of office, with an integrity, wisdom, and justice, that gave to his opinions an authentic and absolute sway. Amidst the frantic agitations of party, which for a series of years convulsed the nation, he, almost alone in his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, his unblenching love of country, and that personal independence which neither party zeal could warp from its course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm; and in their bitterest exacerbations, his fellow citizens of all ranks turned towards him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism. In private life he was distinguished for the amenity of his manners, his hospitality, and his extensive and useful knowledge. He possessed a memory uncommonly minute, and a love of information that never sank under the labor of acquisition. These faculties rendered him, perhaps, the most accurate repository of the history of his own time, in this or any other country. His habits of life were contemplative, cautious, scrupulously just, and regulated by the strictest method.

Few men have enjoyed a more enviable lot;—his youth distinguished in the field, his age in the council, and every period solaced by the attachment of friends. Affluent in fortune, as rich in public regard, and blessed in his domestic and personal associations, he has glided away from the small band of his compatriots, as full of honors as of years. The example of such a citizen is a legacy to his country, of more worth than the precepts of an age.

# GILBERT CHARLES STUART.

In this biographical sketch of the life and character of Gilbert C. Stuart, we shall avail ourselves of the very valuable information afforded us by the late venerable Dr. Benj. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, the companion of his childhood and his youth, and the undeviating friend of his manhood and age; and of such other sources of information as are offered to us. Although our greatest portrait painter died but in 1828, already the place of his nativity is disputed, and contending towns claim the honor of producing this extraordinary genius; to Dr. Waterhouse we owe certainty on this head; and even the time of his birth would not have been accurately determined, but that the painter has inscribed "G. Stuart, Pictor, se ipso pinxit, A. D. 1778, Ætatis sua 24," on a portrait painted by himself and presented to his friend, which remains a monument of his early skill, and is the more precious as it is the only portrait he ever painted of himself. This, of course, gives us the year of his birth, 1754.

Between the years 1746 and 1750, there came over from Great Britain to these English colonies a number of Scotch gentlemen, who had not the appearance of what is generally understood by the term emigrants, nor yet merchants or gentlemen of fortune. They came not in companies, but dropped in quietly, one after another. Their unassuming appearance and retired habits, bordering on the reserve, seemed to place them above the common class of British travellers. Their mode of life was snug, discreet, and respectable, yet clannish. Some settled in Philadelphia, some in Perth Amboy, some in New York; but a greater proportion sat down at that pleasant and healthy spot, Rhode Island, called by its first historiographer, Callender, "the Garden of America." Several of the emigrants were professional men; among these was Dr. Thomas Moffat, a learned physician of the Boerhaavean school; but, however learned, his dress and manners were so ill suited to the plainness of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, who were principally Quakers, that he

could not make his way among them as a practitioner, and therefore he looked round for some other mode of genteel subsistence; and he hit upon that of cultivating tobacco and making snuff, to supply the place of the great quantity that was every year imported from Glasgow; but he could find no man in the country who he thought was able to make him a snuff mill. He therefore wrote to Scotland, and obtained a competent mill-wright, by the name of Gilbert Stuart.

Dr. Moffat selected for his mill seat a proper stream in that part of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence plantations which bore and still bears the Indian name of Narraganset, once occupied by the warlike tribe of the Pequot Indians, made familiar to us by the intensely interesting romance of our novelist, James Fenimore Cooper, under the title of the "Last of the Mohicans."

There, Gilbert Stuart, the father of the great painter, erected the first snuff mill in New England, and there he manufactured that strange article of luxury. He soon after built a house, and married a very handsome woman, daughter of a Mr. Anthony, a substantial farmer; and of this happy couple, at Narraganset, was born GILBERT CHARLES STUART; so *christened*, but the middle name, which betokens the jacobite principles of his father, was early dropped by the son, and never used in his days of notoriety; indeed, but for the signatures of letters addressed to his friend Waterhouse in youth, we should have no evidence that he ever bore more than the famous name of GILBERT STUART.

He is described to us by one of his school fellows as "a very capable, self-willed boy; handsome, forward, an only son, and habituated at home to have his own way in every thing, with little or no control of the easy, good natured father." He was about thirteen years old when he began to copy pictures, and at length attempted likenesses in black lead. There came to Newport about the year 1772, a Scotch gentleman named Cosmo Alexander; he was between fifty and sixty years of age, of delicate health, and prepossessing manners, apparently independent of the profession of painting, which ostensibly was his occupation, though it is believed that he, and several other gentlemen of leisure and observation from Britain, were travelling in this country for political purposes. From Mr. Alexander, young STUART first received lessons in the grammar of the art of painting, and after the summer spent in Rhode Island, he accompanied him to the South, and afterwards to Scotland. Mr Alexander died not long after his arrival in Edinburgh, leaving his

pupil to the care of Sir George Chambers, who did not long survive him. Into whose hands our young artist fell after these disappointments, we know not, nor is it to be regretted, for the treatment he received was harsh, such as neither GILBERT STUART or his father ever mentioned. The young man returned to Newport, and after a time resumed his pencil.

Mr. Joseph Anthony, of Philadelphia, visited his sister, the mother of the painter, soon after GILBERT'S return, and on going into his painting room, was surprised to find a striking likeness of his mother, Mrs. Anthony, the grandmother of the painter, who, although he had not seen her since he was twelve years of age, for he was no older at the time of her death, had, by the power of recollection, aided by kindred attachment, produced the likeness which now attracted the attention and gained the favor of his uncle. This faculty of preserving the images of those once known was one of the characteristics of STUART'S genius.

Mr. Anthony, his family, and friends, sat for portraits to the young artist, who was now in the full tide of prosperity. About this time, the winter of 1773–4, he and his friend Waterhouse were fellow students in an academy for drawing, of their own formation. They hired a strong-muscled journeyman blacksmith, as their academy figure, at half a dollar the evening; and thus, probably, anticipated any other academical study from the naked figure in their country by many years.

Ardent as STUART'S love of painting was, we have Dr. Waterhouse's authority for saying, that music divided his affections so equally with her sister, that it was difficult to say which was "the ruling passion." In the beginning of March, 1775, STUART'S friend, Waterhouse, embarked for London, with the intention of pursuing his medical studies in the schools of Europe, and the young painter, probably finding his business interrupted by the approach of war, found means to follow, relying, as it would seem, upon the resources of his friend, for an introduction to the treasures of the British metropolis. He arrived in London in the latter end of November, when he found that Waterhouse had gone to Edinburgh, and he had not one acquaintance in this strange world, and no resource but his pencil and a letter to a Scotch gentleman, who received him kindly, and employed him to paint a picture for him, which, when his friend Waterhouse returned to London, in the summer of 1776, he found still unfinished on his easel.

During this period, when his father's business was broke up by

the events of the war in America, and the young painter was left to shift for himself, without experience or prudence, his skill in music, both practical and theoretical, stood him in stead, and gave him the means of subsistence in a manner as extraordinary as his character and actions were eccentric. While he was in this state of extreme poverty, without employment or the means of subsistence, walking the streets without any definite purpose, he passed by a church in Foster Lane, saw the door open, and several persons going in. He was attracted by the sound of the organ—he inquired at the door what was going on within, and was told, the vestry were making trial of several candidates for the situation of organist, the last incumbent having recently died. STUART entered the church, and encouraged, as he said, by a look of good nature in the countenance of one of the vestrymen, addressed him, and asked if a stranger might try his skill and become a candidate for the vacant place. His request was granted, and he had the pleasure to find that the time he had employed in making himself a musician, had not been thrown away. His playing was preferred to that of his rivals, and he was engaged at a salary which relieved present necessities, and enabled him to return to his studies as a painter. "When," says Mr. Charles Fraser, "Mr. STUART related this anecdote to me, he was sitting in his parlor, and to prove that he did not neglect the talent that had been so friendly to him in his yonth, and in the days of his adversity, he took his seat at a small organ in the room, and played several tunes with much feeling and execution."

On the return of his friend from Edinburgh, to pursue his studies by "walking the hospitals" in London, he had the pleasure of procuring several sitters for the young painter; but he could with difficulty keep him in that straight course which is so necessary to permanent prosperity.

Strange as it may appear, STUART was a long time in London without seeing, or being introduced to his great countryman, West. There appears to be no reason for this omission, and for not gaining access, for at least two years, to that source of instruction which was ever open to ,those who thirsted for knowledge, and more especially to Americans. At length, Dr. Waterhouse says, "After I had exhausted all my means of helping forward my ingenious friend and countryman, I called upon Mr. West, and laid open to him his situation." The consequence was, an invitation from Mr. West, and his continued friendship, support, and instruction.

Soon after this, STUART'S friend, Waterhouse, went to Leyden, to

finish his studies, and they did not meet again until the painter removed from Washington to Boston; for the intermediate time, we have to look to other authorities, and one of the first is Colonel Trumbull, who on being introduced to Mr. West, in August, 1780, found STUART as his pupil. Mr. STUART uniformly said, that on application to Mr. West he was received with great benevolence; that nothing could exceed the attention of that distinguished artist to him, and when he saw that he was fitted for the field,—armed to contend with the best and the highest,—he advised him to commence his career professionally. While under Mr. West's roof, he became known to celebrated artists, and to the lords of the land. Dance admired and encouraged him, and presented his palette to him. His full length of Mr. Grant, skating, attracted great applause, and he, soon after taking rooms and setting up an independent easel, had his full share of the best business in London as a portrait painter; and as Colonel Trumbull has said, had prices equal to any, except Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough. It is the opinion of STUART'S contemporaries in London, that with common prudence he might have been the successor of Reynolds. He was *not* prudent; and found it convenient to visit Dublin, where he was received with Hibernian hospitality; delighting as much by his wit and conviviality as by his pencil.

In 1793 he returned to America. He embarked from Dublin, and arrived in New York, where he set up his easel, and was thronged with admirers and sitters. To gratify his desire to paint Washington, a desire which, he has said, brought him from the scene of his European success, he visited Philadelphia, and having been fully successful in his mission, he fixed his residence in that city and neighborhood for some years.

An eminent artist has said of STUART'S Washington: "And well is his ambition justified in the sublime head he has left us: a nobler personification of wisdom and goodness, reposing in the majesty of a serene conscience, is not to be found on canvass."

The writer of this necessarily short and imperfect sketch, who knew Washington, both as general and president, perfectly coincides with the above tribute of praise from a brother artist. When artists speak of STUART'S Washington, let it be remembered, that they mean the original picture, refused by the government of the United States, and purchased as an inestimable gem by the Athenæum, of Boston. The copies generally circulated, and the prints from Heath's workshop, in London, are libels equally on the painter and the hero.

Mr. STUART always considered the publication of this print, not only as injurious to his reputation, but as a piracy upon his property. When he saw the print exhibited for sale in Philadelphia, he could not restrain his just indignation.

While Mr. STUART was prosperously exercising his profession in Pennsylvania, we are informed that he purchased a farm at Potts-Grove, as a resting place for his family, but that the plan was not carried through with the prudence which conceived it. He removed to Washington, and was there as elsewhere, gladly welcomed. In 1805, he finally fixed himself at Boston, where he, with undiminished talents, exercised his profession until the day of his death. The portrait of John Adams, painted after the venerable patriot and president was upwards of eighty, has been the admiration of all who have seen it; and the painter's last work, the head of an intended full length of the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, is equal to any of the great painter's works, when he was in the prime of life and vigor of health.

The colloquial talents of GILBERT STUART were exerted as auxiliaries to his pencil. He had a fund of wit inexhaustible, and of anecdote, or historical knowledge, his reading and his memory furnished him with an everlasting store. His early friend, Dr. Waterhouse, has thus characterized and described that power and art with which he fascinated his sitters, making them forget the confinement of the "painter's chair," and drawing forth the inmost soul upon the surface of the countenance, while he fixed it on his canvass by the magic of his colors. "In conversation and confabulation, he was inferior to no man. He always made it a point to keep those talking who were sitting to him for their portraits, each in their own way, free and easy. This called up all his resources of judgment. To military men, he spoke of battles by sea and land. With the statesman, on Hume's and Gibbon's History—with the lawyer, in *his* way—the merchant in *his* way, and with the ladies, in all ways. When putting the rich farmer on the canvass, he would go along with him from seed time to harvest time—then he would descant on the nice points of a fine horse, ox, cow, sheep, or pig, and surprise him with his just remarks on the progress of making cheese and butter, and astonish him with his profound knowledge of manures, or the food of plants. As to national character and individual character, few men could say more to the purpose, as far as history and acute personal observation would carry him. He had wit at will, always ample, sometimes redundant, remarkably so, after his long sojourn in Ireland."

His friend, Waterhouse, was disposed to attribute STUART'S undue attachment to the pleasures of the table and convivial society, to his residence on the Emerald Isle; but he carried all his propensities and resources for smoothing the road to ruin with him, from the centre of all dissipation, as well as all rational enjoyment, London. Of STUART, as of some others, it may be said in the common phraseology of mankind, "he had every kind of sense but common sense." He had knowledge enough to have guided an empire, and did not pilot his own frail vessel into port, even when wind and tide were with him.

Nature had bestowed on GILBERT STUART her choicest gifts. His mind and body were of the most powerful, and the best endowed, for active exertion or ponderous labor—for grasping the minute or the vast—for relishing the beauties of art or diving into the profundities of science. These gifts, when used, lead to fortune, fame, and happiness; and their possessor is blessed with equanimity and cheerfulness—when abused, the result is disappointment, poverty, disease, self-reproach, and occasional misanthropy. It is a vulgar error, that genius and imprudence have a natural alliance. The contrary is the fact. Eminent genius may be, has been, misled; but the *most* eminent are bright proofs that genius and virtue are by nature allied, and that the imprudent man of great talents is the *exception* to the rule.

Certain it is, that GILBERT STUART did not watch and properly turn to his advantage that "tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," and it is equally certain, that the neglect involved him in the "shoals and shallows" which the great philosophic poet tells us, is the inevitable consequence. He returned to New England, (after shining with the splendor of a sun and the irregularity of a meteor, in England, Ireland, and the central portions of the United States,) to finish his eccentric career, without that brilliancy which fortune bestows, but with undiminished fame and unrivalled excellence as an artist, to the last days of his existence; dying at the advanced age of seventy-four, in the month of July, 1828, regretted by all who knew him, and leaving, "a void" "in the world of art," "which will not soon be filled."

We cordially adopt into our memoir words written in 1828 by an eminent artist, whose language bears the impress of truth, judgment, and feeling. The "glimpses of character" which STUART elicited from his sitters by his colloquial powers, "mixed as they are in all men with so much that belongs to their age and associates, would

have been of little use to an ordinary observer; for the faculty of distinguishing between the accidental and the permanent, in other words, between the conventional expression which arises from *manners*, and that more subtle indication of the individual mind, is indeed no common one: and by no one with whom we are acquainted, was their faculty possessed in so remarkable a degree. It was this which enabled him to animate his canvass—not with the appearance of mere general life, but with that peculiar distinctive life, which separates the humblest individual from his kind. He seemed to dive into the thoughts of men—for they were made to rise and speak on the surface." "In his happier efforts, no one ever surpassed him in embodying (if we may so speak,) those transient apparitions of the soul. Of this, not the least admirable instance is his portrait, painted within the last four years, (when the painter was upwards of seventy,) of the late President Adams; whose then bodily tenement seemed rather to present the image of some dilapidated castle, than that of the habitation of the 'unbroken mind;' but not such is the picture; called forth as from its crumbling recesses, the living tenant is there—still ennobling the ruin, and upholding it, as it were, by the strength of his own life. In this venerable ruin, will the unbending patriot and the gifted artist speak to posterity of the first glorious century of our republic."

In a word, GILBERT STUART was, in its widest sense, a *philosopher* in his art: he thoroughly understood its principles, as his works bear witness, whether as to the harmony of colors or of lines, or of light and shadow—showing that exquisite sense of *a whole*, which only a man of genius can realize and embody.

We cannot close this brief notice without a passing record of his generous bearing towards his professional brethren. He never suffered the manliness of his nature to darken with the least shadow of jealousy; but where praise was due, he gave it freely, and gave it, too, with a grace which showed that, loving excellence for its own sake, he had a pleasure in praising. To the younger artists, he was uniformly kind and indulgent, and most liberal of his advice; which no one ever properly asked but he received, and in a manner no less courteous than impressive. Well may his country say, "a great man has passed from amongst us;" but GILBERT STUART has bequeathed her what is paramount to *power*—since no power can command it—the rich inheritance of his fame.

The appearance of STUART as a painter of portraits has been regarded as a memorable era in the history of American arts; and inasmuch as

he has yet had no rival, it would be wrong to dismiss this memoir of him, drawn up, some years since, by one who well understood his subject, without a few lines relative to the magnificent engraving of Washington from the most striking likeness of the premier-president ever taken. This is from the picture already referred to, which the artist would never sell during his lifetime, but it was purchased from his widow, and placed in the Atheneum of Boston, as the painter's principal work.

A few additional facts connected with the portrait itself cannot be unacceptable, especially as they tend more fully to illustrate the character and taste of STUART. It has been already said that the main reason why the artist left Europe, with all the fame and the large income he had secured there, was to paint "the father of his country." When he had succeeded in obtaining Washington's consent, and made the first attempt, he was of opinion that he had failed, and destroyed the picture; the second trial was eminently successful; so that Leslie, a Royal Academician, said, "How fortunate it was that a painter existed in the time of Washington, who could hand him down to us looking like a gentleman;" and assuredly no equivocal testimony to the correctness of this picture was borne by Congress, when Vanderlyn was employed to paint a full-length portrait of the hero for the nation, it was stipulated that he should copy his countenance from this picture. Every one who knew the original, and who has seen the portrait, bears testimony that more of *the mind* of Washington appears in it than in any other picture.

The reader has already been apprised that, in the judgment of STUART himself, no copy ever engraved, of this portrait, resembled the painting. Each engraver literally hastily *stole* it; and so little care had Heath, the London copyist, bestowed on the subject, that he was not able to give even the name of the painter correctly. He called him "*Gabriel*," instead of "*Gilbert;*" as though determined, to use STUART's own language, to make him an angel.

The great desideratum of a perfect copy of this picture,—the only perfect likeness of Washington,—we at length possess. Thomas Sully, Esq., the distinguished and highly gifted artist and the friend of STUART, has superintended this undertaking, and T. B. Welch, Esq., the eminent engraver of portraits, in which department he never had a competitor, has in its execution entirely succeeded in gratifying every friend of Washington, and every lover of the fine arts. Mr. George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, has very recently conferred a benefit on the United States, in publishing this magnificent

portrait, two-thirds the size of life, at a price which cannot remunerate him till many thousand copies are sold.

We cannot lay down our pen without an expression of our high admiration of the results of the recent publication of this portrait. We never doubted the high esteem, and indeed *veneration* in which Washington was held by his countrymen; but we confess that we were not prepared for the burst of enthusiasm we have seen glistening in the eyes of many, we may say all, whom we have observed looking on this work of art. While many have achieved the features of the hero and statesman, and others the fine taste shown in the workmanship, the strongest expression of rapture proceeded from those who personally knew the subject of the engraving. How have they dwelt on the lineaments of his countenance, thus distinctly brought before them, the traits of his character, and the works he accomplished for his country! Neither Washington nor STUART can die; and the publication of this engraving has fully shown us that the preservation of "the human face divine" will do very much to preserve the patriotism of our countrymen, by keeping before them the names and the actions of the venerated dead.

# ISRAEL PUTNAM.

THERE are some names connected with the history of our country which associate themselves with the recollections of our juvenile partialities. Such is that of the intrepid man whose memoir we are about to sketch. His adventures, often bordering on the marvellous, have excited the admiration of our youth; and his daring, prompt, and skilful military manœuvres, through several years of the revolutionary war, are still dwelt on with pleasure by the remnant of our time-worn veterans. Endowed by nature with a powerful frame, a vigorous intellect, undaunted courage, and a spirit of enterprise, he was peculiarly fitted to encounter the perils and hardships of the time that "tried men's souls." To an early education he was but little indebted; but his own observation, his intercourse with men, and his experience during a service of several years with the British and provincial forces engaged in the conquest of Canada, enabled him to perform the duties of his high military rank with honor to himself and usefulness to his country. In his disposition he was sincere, gentle, generous, and noble; his uprightness commanded confidence, and "his word (like Petrarch's) was sufficient."

Major General ISRAEL PUTNAM descended from one of the earliest settlers of Salem, Massachusetts, in which town he was born, on the 7th of January, 1718. In his youth he excelled in athletic exercises. He married at an early age, and removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where for several years he cultivated an extensive tract of land. Here he first exhibited the daring of his character in the destruction of a she-wolf, which, after a long pursuit, had taken refuge in a dark and narrow den, about forty feet from the entrance In 1755, when the war between England and France was prosecuted in America, he was appointed a captain of rangers in the provincial regiment under Colonel Lyman. He afterwards served under Generals Abercrombie and Amherst, on the frontiers and in Canada, and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. During that period, being frequently in situations which required not only courage but unwea-

ried watchfulness and presence of mind, he gained the esteem and confidence of the army.

Of his numerous adventures by flood and field during this period, the following will serve as examples, characteristic of the man and of the service in which he was engaged.

When stationed at Fort Miller, by his personal exertions a magazine, containing three hundred barrels of powder, was saved from destruction by a fire which consumed the barracks and burned through the outside planks of the magazine.

Being on the eastern shore of the Hudson, near the rapids in the vicinity of Fort Miller, with a batteau and five men, he received a signal from the opposite bank that a large body of savages were in his rear. To stay and be sacrificed, to attempt crossing and be shot, or to go down the falls, were the sole alternatives that presented themselves to his choice. So instantaneously was the latter adopted, that one man was of necessity left, and fell a victim to savage barbarity. The Indians fired on the batteau before it could be got under way; and no sooner had it escaped by the rapidity of the current beyond the reach of musket-shot, than destruction seemed only to have been avoided in one form to be encountered in another. Prominent rocks, latent shelves, absorbing eddies, and abrupt descents for a quarter of a mile, afforded scarcely the smallest chance of escaping. PUTNAM placed himself sedately at the helm; his companions saw him with astonishment avoiding the rocks and yawning gulfs which threatened instant destruction, and safely shooting through the only passage, they at last viewed the batteau gliding on the smooth surface of the stream below.

While engaged against the French and Indians near Lake George, Major PUTNAM was ambuscaded and attacked by a superior force. His officers and men, animated by his example, behaved with great bravery; but after several discharges his fusee missed fire. A large and well-proportioned Indian, with a tremendous war-whoop, instantly sprang forward with his lifted hatchet and compelled him to surrender, and having disarmed and bound him to a tree, returned to the battle. The Indians having changed their position, he was directly between the fires of the two parties, the balls flying incessantly from each side. Many struck the tree, and several passed through his coat. In this state of jeopardy he remained more than an hour. The enemy having again recovered the ground, a young savage amused himself by hurling his tomahawk to see how near he could throw it without striking his head. The weapon struck in the

tree a number of times at a hair's breadth from the mark. After the Indian had finished his amusement, a French officer approached and levelled his fusee within a foot of his breast; but fortunately it missed fire. Besides many base outrages upon this defenceless prisoner, they inflicted a deep wound with a tomahawk upon his left cheek, and this mark remained during life. The enemy were at length driven from the field; PUTNAM was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings, and shoes, strongly pinioned, and loaded with packs. On the march through the wilderness, Major PUTNAM became so exhausted, that he preferred death to a longer continuance in distress. A French officer now interposed, and the Indian who captured him gave him a pair of moccasins. The savages being determined to roast him alive, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, piled combustibles in a circle round him, and, with horrid screams and yells, set the pile on fire. He soon began to feel the scorching heat, and as he shrunk from its approach by shifting sides, his inhuman tormentors demonstrated their joy by yells and dances. "When the bitterness of death was in a manner past, and nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things," a French officer rushed through the crowd, scattered the burning brands, and unbound the victim. The next day Major PUTNAM was obliged to march, but was excused from carrying any burden. After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, he was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, and treated with great humanity. At that place, among other prisoners, was Colonel Peter Schuyler, a provincial officer, by whose assistance he was soon after exchanged.

At the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels, as any officer of his rank, he with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform, and returned to his plough. No character stood fairer in the public estimation for integrity, bravery, and patriotism. It was proverbially said, as well by British as provincial officers, that, in a service of great peril and hardship, "*he dared to lead where any dared to follow.*"

At the commencement of the struggle between the American colonies and the mother country, while many citizens who had witnessed the power of the British nation, stood aloof, PUTNAM was among the first and most conspicuous who engaged in the glorious cause. At Boston he took frequent opportunities of con-

versing on the subject with General Gage, Lord Percy, Major Small, and other officers with whom he had formerly served. Being questioned, in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really take, he answered, "with his country; and that, whatever might happen, he was prepared to abide the consequence."

On hearing of the battle at Lexington, Colonel PUTNAM left his plough in the middle of the field, and, without changing his clothes, repaired to Cambridge, riding in a single day one hundred miles. He was soon appointed a major general in the provincial army, then to be raised, and, returning to Connecticut, he made no delay in bringing on a body of troops. Not long after his appointment, General Gage, unwilling that so valuable an officer should act in opposition, privately conveyed to him a proposal, that if he would quit the *rebel party*, he might rely on being made a major general in the British establishment, and receiving an ample pecuniary compensation for his services; but he spurned the offer. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined in a council of war, at which General PUTNAM assisted, that a fortified post should be established at, or near Bunker Hill. General PUTNAM marched with the first detachment, and commenced the work; he was the principal engineer who traced the lines of the redoubt on Breed's Hill, and he continued most of the night with the workmen. At sunrise on the morning of the 17th, he had taken his station; and he participated in the danger as well as the glory of that day. He was, it is believed, considered as having the general superintendence of the expedition. As the enemy advanced, General PUTNAM rode through the line of his own troops, and ordered that no one should fire till they arrived within eight rods, nor any one until commanded. Powder was scarce, and must not be wasted. They should not fire at the enemy till they could see the white of their eyes, and then fire low, and take aim at their waistbands. "You are all marksmen," he added, "and can kill a squirrel at a hundred yards; reserve your fire, and the enemy will be destroyed." During the heat of the battle, PUTNAM was seen riding from front to rear, and from place to place, where his presence was most needed, animating both officers and men, his sword waving in the air, threatening to cut down the first who should disobey orders, or act a cowardly part. At one time the gallant Major Small was left standing alone, every one shot down about him. The never erring muskets were levelled at him, and a soldier's fate was his inevitable destiny, had not PUTNAM at the instant appeared. Each

recognised in the other an old friend and fellow-soldier—the tie was sacred—PUTNAM threw up the deadly muskets with his sword, and arrested his fate. He begged his men to spare that officer, as dear to him as a brother. The general's humane and chivalrous generosity excited admiration, and his friend retired unhurt.

Both the poet and the painter have placed PUTNAM in the rear of the retreating troops.

> "There strides bold PUTNAM, and from all the plains
> Calls the tired host, the tardy rear sustains,
> And, mid the whizzing deaths that fill the air
> Waves back his sword, and dares the following war."
>
> BARLOW'S VISION OF COLUMBUS, and
> TRUMBULL'S BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

In connection with this part of our subject, we cannot avoid adding the following letter from Colonel John Trumbull, an officer in the revolutionary war, afterward the president of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, to Daniel Putnam, esq., dated "New York, March 30, 1818."

"In the summer of 1786, I became acquainted in London with Colonel John Small, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General PUTNAM intimately during the war of Canada, from 1756 to 1763. From him I had the following anecdote respecting the battle of Bunker Hill. I shall nearly repeat his words. Looking at the picture, which I had then almost completed, he said, 'I do n't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend PUTNAM—you have not done him justice. I wish you to alter that part of your picture, and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with other officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men. We had advanced very near the works undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a feu de joie, was poured in on us—it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back; and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing. I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men levelling their pieces at me—I knew their excellence as marksmen, and considered myself gone. At this moment my old friend PUTNAM rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out, 'For God's sake, my lads, do n't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother.' We were so near each other, that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed—I bowed, thanked him, and walked away unmolested.'"

When, in July 1775, General Washington arrived at Cambridge he found General PUTNAM industriously engaged in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences. His great activity and personal industry, the undisguised frankness of his disposition, and the peculiar interest which he discovered in every thing pertaining to the army, soon attracted the attention of the commander in chief; a firm friendship was cemented between these two generals, which continued undiminished till separated by death. Washington having divided the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve regiments each, he appointed Major General Ward to command the right wing, Major General Lee the left wing, and Major General PUTNAM the reserve.

Immediately after the British army evacuated Boston, on the 17th of March, 1776, General Washington ordered the greater part of his army to New York, in order to secure that city from an attack; and detached General PUTNAM, with instructions to "make the best despatch in getting to New York, to assume the command, and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the plan proposed by Major General Lee, for fortifying that city, and securing the passes of the East and North rivers." On his arrival, he issued his orders, enjoining on the soldiers the strictest observance of order, and prohibiting the inhabitants from all intercourse with the British fleet. The consequence was, that in a short time all the British armed vessels sailed out of the harbor. The commander in chief arrived in New York about the middle of April, and in his first public orders returned thanks to the officers who had successively commanded at New York, for the many works of defence which had been so expeditiously erected.

General Washington being required by congress to visit Philadelphia, General PUTNAM was the commander of the army during his absence, from the 21st of May to the 6th of June. The most important duties devolved upon him, which were executed in a manner the most effectual and satisfactory.

It was but two days previous to the battle on Long Island, that General PUTNAM was ordered to the command of that post; and he assisted in the arduous and complicated difficulties of that masterly retreat. In the memorable and distressing flight of the American army through New Jersey, in 1776, he was always near, always the friend, the supporter, and confidant of his chief. After reaching the western bank of the Delaware with the rear of the army, he was ordered to Philadelphia, to fortify and defend that city against a meditated attack. When in the summer of 1777, Fort Montgomery

was captured by the enemy, and it was determined to erect another fortification on the banks of the Hudson for the defence of that river, the commander in chief left it wholly to the judgment of General PUTNAM to fix on the spot, who decided in favor of West Point.

In the battle of Princeton, Captain M'Pherson, of the 17th British regiment, was desperately wounded and left with the dead. General PUTNAM found him languishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without accommodation, and without a friend. He immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him. "While the recovery of Captain M'Pherson was doubtful, he desired that General PUTNAM would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making his will. General PUTNAM, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. He was not willing that a British officer should spy out the weakness of his post; and it was not in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient, which he hastened to put in practice. A flag was despatched with Captain M'Pherson's request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend until night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the rooms of the college, (at Princeton,) and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty men, sometimes altogether and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters by the house in which M'Pherson lay. Afterwards it was known that the officer, on his return, reported that General PUTNAM's army, upon the most moderate calculation, could not consist of less than four or five thousand men."

While General PUTNAM was posted at Peekskill, a person by the name of Palmer, who was a lieutenant in the tory levies, was detected in his camp. Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, and threatened vengeance in case he should be executed. General PUTNAM wrote the following pithy reply.

"Sir,—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a *spy*—he was tried as a *spy*—he was condemned as a *spy*—and you may rest assured, sir, he shall be hanged as a *spy*. "I have the honor to be, &c.,

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"*His Excellency Governor Tryon.*

"P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

In the winter of 1778, the Connecticut troops, "who had been badly fed, badly clothed, and worse paid, formed the design of marching to Hartford, where the general assembly was then in session, and demanding redress. General PUTNAM, hearing that the second brigade was under arms for this purpose, mounted his horse, galloped to the cantonment, and addressed them. After the several regiments had received the general as he rode along the line, with drums beating and presented arms, the sergeants who had then the command brought the men to an order, in which position they continued while he was speaking. He then directed them to shoulder, march to their regimental parades, and lodge arms; all which they executed with apparent good humor."

About the middle of the winter of 1778, while General PUTNAM was on a visit to his outpost at Horseneck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon him with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these, General PUTNAM had only a picquet of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field-pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picquet to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own by riding down the steep declivity at the church upon a full trot. This hill was so steep where he descended, as to have seventy stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. Here the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short and fired at him; and before they could gain the valley, by going round the hill, he was far beyond their reach. Without any other injury than a bullet-hole in his beaver, he continued his route unmolested to Stamford, where he collected some militia, and in turn pursued Governor Tryon and his party.

In December, 1779, while on his return from Connecticut to head quarters, this venerable man was attacked by a paralytic affection, under which he languished till the 29th of May, 1790, when his honorable and useful life was brought to a final close, at Brooklyn, Connecticut.

# ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, whose life is deeply interwoven with the history of the American revolution, with the formation and adoption of the constitution of the United States, and with the civil administration of Washington, was born in the island of Nevis, in the British West Indies, January 11th, 1757. He was of Scottish descent. His paternal grandfather resided at the family seat of Grange in Ayrshire, in Scotland. His father was bred a merchant, and went to the West Indies in that character, where he became unsuccessful in business, and subsequently lived in a state of pecuniary dependence. His mother was of a French family, and possessed superior accomplishments of mind and person. She died when he was a child, and he received the rudiments of his early education in the island of St. Croix.

He was taught when young to speak and write the French language fluently, and he displayed an early and devoted attachment to literary pursuits. His studies were under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Knox, a respectable Presbyterian clergyman, who gave to his mind a strong religious bias, which was never eradicated, and which displayed itself strongly and with consoling influence on his death-bed, though it may have been checked and diverted during the ardor and engrossing scenes of his military and political life. In 1769, he was placed as a clerk in the counting-house of Mr. Nicholas Cruger, an opulent and highly respectable merchant of St. Croix. Young HAMILTON went through the details of his clerical duty with great assiduity and fidelity, and he manifested a capacity for business, which attracted the attention and confidence of his patron. He displayed, at that early age, the most aspiring ambition, and showed infallible symptoms of superior genius. "I contemn," said he in a letter to a confidential school fellow, "the grovelling condition of a clerk, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station; I mean to prepare the way for futurity." This extraordinary feeling and determined purpose in a youth of twelve

years; this ardent love for fame, and the still stronger attachment to character, were felt and exhibited in every period of his after life.

While he was in Mr. Cruger's office, HAMILTON devoted all his leisure moments to study. Mathematics, chemistry, ethics, biography, knowledge of every kind, occupied his anxious researches. In 1772, he gave a precise and elegant description of the hurricane which had recently swept over some of the islands, and which was anonymously published in the island of St. Christopher, where it excited general attention, and contributed to give a happy direction to his future fortunes. When the author became known, his relations and patrons resolved to send him to the city of New York, for the purpose of a better education.

He arrived in New York in October, 1772, and was immediately placed at a grammar school, at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Barber, who afterwards was distinguished as an accomplished officer in the American service. HAMILTON entered King's (now Columbia) College at the close of 1773, where he soon "gave extraordinary displays of richness of genius and energy of mind."

His active and penetrating mind was employed, even at college, in sustaining and defending the colonial opposition to the acts of the British parliament. In July 1774, while a youth of seventeen, he appeared as a speaker at a great public meeting of citizens in the fields, (now the park in front of the city hall,) and enforced the duty of resistance by an eloquent appeal to the good sense and patriotism of his auditors. He also vindicated the cause of the colonies with his pen in several anonymous publications. In December 1774, and February 1775, he was the author of some elaborate pamphlets in favor of the pacific measures of defence, recommended by congress. He suggested at that early day the policy of giving encouragement to domestic manufactures, as a sure means of lessening the need of external commerce. He anticipated ample resources at home, and, among other things, observed that several of the southern colonies were so favorable in their soil and climate to the growth of cotton, that such a staple alone, with due cultivation, in a year or two would afford products sufficient to clothe the whole continent. He insisted upon our unalienable right to the steady, uniform, unshaken security of constitutional freedom; to the enjoyment of trial by jury; and to the right of freedom from taxation, except by our own immediate representatives; and that colonial legislation was an inherent right, never to be abandoned or impaired.

In the course of this pamphlet controversy, HAMILTON became engaged, though unsuspected by his opponents, in an animated discussion with Dr. Cooper, principal of the college, and with wits and politicians of established character on the ministerial side of the question. The profound principles, able reasoning, and sound policy contained in the pamphlets, astonished his adversaries; and the principal of them held it to be absurd to suppose that so young a man as HAMILTON could be the author. He was thenceforward cherished and revered by the whigs of New York as an oracle.

The war had now commenced in Massachusetts bay, and HAMILTON, young, ardent, and intrepid, was among the earliest of his fellow-citizens to turn his mind to the military service. In 1775, and while at college, he joined a volunteer corps of militia in the city of New York, studied the details of military tactics, and endeavored to reduce them to practice. And while he was most active in promoting measures of resistance, he was busy also in studying the science of political economy, relative to commerce, the balance of trade, and the circulating medium; and which were soon to become prominent topics of speculation under the new aspects of social and political organization, of which the elements were then forming. In checking the wild spirit of mobs, he showed himself equally the intrepid advocate of freedom, and the enemy of all popular misrule and licentiousness.

On the 14th March, 1776, HAMILTON was appointed captain of a provincial company of artillery, in the city of New York, and in that rank he was soon in active service, and brought up the rear of the army in the retreat from Long Island. He was in the action at White Plains, on the 28th of October, 1776, and by that time his character and conduct had attracted the observing eye of Washington. He was with his artillery company, firm and active, in the retreat through New Jersey, and resisted the progress of the British troops on the banks of the Raritan. He was with his command at Trenton and Princeton, and he continued in the army until the 1st of March, 1777, when he was appointed aid-de-camp to General Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Colonel HAMILTON remained in the family of the commander-in-chief until February, 1781, and during that long and eventful period of the war, he was, in the language of Washington himself, "his principal and most confidential aid." In that auspicious station, and in the very general intercourse with the officers of the army and the principal men of the country which it created, he had ample opportunities to diffuse the knowledge of his talents and the influence of his

accomplishments. As he spoke the French language with facility, he became familiar with the officers of the French army in America, and with the distinguished foreign officers in the American service. He recommended himself to their confidence by his kindness and his solicitude to serve them in the best manner. Their attachment and admiration were won by his genius and the goodness and frankness of his heart. This was particularly the case in respect to the Marquis Lafayette, and the Baron Steuben.

The principal labor of the correspondence of the commander-in-chief fell upon HAMILTON; and the most elaborate communications of that kind are understood to have been made essentially with his assistance. In November 1777, he was deputed by Washington to procure from General Gates at Albany reinforcements of troops, which were exceedingly wanted for the army before Howe in Philadelphia. His object was to obtain the three continental brigades, then under Gates, and without any northern enemy to employ them. But General Gates insisted on retaining at least two of the brigades, and would only consent to part with the weakest of the three. The negotiation was conducted by Colonel HAMILTON with consummate discretion; and without having recourse to the absolute authority of the commander-in-chief, he overcame, by dint of argument, the unreasonable reluctance and dangerous temper of insubordination in Gates, and procured the march to head quarters of two of the brigades. In 1778, the accuracy of HAMILTON'S judgment was tested on the subject of the inspector-general of the army, and in the appointment of Baron Steuben, and the designation of his powers and duties. He was in the same year intrusted by General Washington with much discretion respecting a general exchange of prisoners with the enemy; and he was very efficient and most happy in his advice in favor of the attack of the enemy upon their retreat through New Jersey, in June 1778, in opposition to the opinion of a majority of a council of war consulted on that occasion. The determination to attack led on to the action of Monmouth, in which fresh honor was added to the American arms. Colonel HAMILTON was that day in the field under the Marquis Lafayette, and his merit was very conspicuous in the activity, skill, and courage which he displayed.

The finances of the United States had become involved in great disorder, and the enormous issues of paper currency to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars, and its consequent depreciation almost to worthlessness, had prostrated public credit. The government and the army were reduced to the greatest difficulties and distress, from the

want of means to sustain themselves, and support the war. In this extremity, the mind of Colonel HAMILTON was turned to the contemplation of the subject, and the means of relief. He was led on to those profound investigations in reference to the complicated subjects of finance, currency, taxation, and the fittest means to restore confidence, by the mastery of which he was afterwards destined to be "the founder of the public credit of the United States." In 1779, he addressed a letter to Robert Morris, one of the first commercial characters of the country, giving in detail his plan of finance. The restoration of the depreciated currency, and of credit and confidence, was not to be effected by expedients within our own resources. The only relief, as he declared, was to be sought in a foreign loan to the extent of two millions sterling, assisted by a vigorous taxation, and a bank of the United States to be instituted by congress for ten years, and to be supported by the foreign as well as by domestic loans in the depreciated currency at a very depreciated ratio. This institution was to rest on the firm footing of public and private faith, and was to supply the want of a circulating medium, and absorb the depreciated paper, and furnish government with the requisite loans. The scheme was in part adopted in June 1780, by the voluntary institution, through the agency of a number of patriotic individuals, of the bank of Pennsylvania, and which received the patronage of congress. Colonel HAMILTON looked with intense anxiety on the distresses of the country, and he perceived and avowed the necessity of a better system of government, and one not merely advisory, but reorganized on foundations of greater responsibility, and more efficiency. He addressed a very interesting letter to Mr. Duane, a member of congress from New York, on the state of the nation. This letter appears at this day, with all the lights and fruits of our experience, as masterly in a pre-eminent degree. He went on to show the defects and total inefficiency of the articles of confederation, and to prove that we stood in need of a national government, with the requisite sovereign powers, such, indeed, as the confederation theoretically contained, but without any fit organs to receive them. He suggested the idea of a national convention to amend and reorganize the government. This was undoubtedly the ablest and truest production on the state of the union, its finances, its army, its miseries, its resources, its remedies, that appeared during the revolution. It contained in embryo the existing federal constitution, and it was the production of a young man of the age of twenty-three.

In October 1780, HAMILTON earnestly recommended to General

Washington the selection of General Greene, for the command of the southern army, which Gates had just left in disorganization and scattered fragments. He had early formed an exalted opinion of the merits of Greene, and entertained unmeasured confidence in his military talents, and "whose genius," as he said, "carried in it all the resources of war." In December 1780, he married the second daughter of Major-General Schuyler, and in the February following, he retired from the family of General Washington, but still retained his rank in the army, and was exceedingly solicitous to obtain a separate command in some light corps. Being relieved from the active duties imposed upon him as an aid, his mind became thoroughly engrossed with the situation of the country, which was in every view replete with difficulties, and surrounded with danger. Public credit was hastening to an irretrievable catastrophe. In April 1781, he addressed a letter to Mr. Morris, the superintendant of finance, on the state of the currency and finances, and he transmitted the plan of a national bank, as the only expedient that could give to government an extensive and sound paper credit, and as being essential to our success and safety. He reasoned out the utility and policy of a bank, and met and answered the objections to it with a force, perspicuity, and conclusiveness, that swept away every difficulty, and carried with it almost universal conviction. The plan of a national bank was submitted to congress by Mr. Morris, in May, 1781 and they adopted it with great unanimity, and resolved to incorporate and support it under the name of the Bank of North America. That institution, with the incipient and more feeble aid of the bank of Pennsylvania, then in operation, was of inestimable service in restoring and sustaining the credit of the country; in bringing forward our resources, and carrying on the operations of the army during the concluding scenes of the war.

The last act of Colonel HAMILTON'S military life, was at the siege of Yorktown, in Virginia. After repeated solicitations, he was at last gratified with the command of a corps of light infantry, attached to the division under the command of his friend, the Marquis Lafayette, and he was so fortunate as to be able to lead the night attack by assault of one of the enemy's redoubts, and which was carried with distinguished rapidity and bravery. This event was the consummation of his wishes. The active service of the army had now ended. He immediately turned his attention to the duties and business of civil life; and having selected the profession of the law, he fitted himself for admission, in 1782, to the bar of the supreme court of New York with surprising facility, and with high credit to his industry and research.

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The country being about to settle down in peace, our civil government became the primary object of attention to reflecting statesmen. The defects of the confederation had grown to be prominent and glaring. The machine had become languid and worthless, and especially after the extraordinary energy and enthusiasm of the war-spirit, which had once animated it, had been withdrawn. In the winter of 1781–2, Mr. HAMILTON wrote a number of anonymous essays in the country papers in New York, under the signature of the *Continentalist*, in which he went largely into an examination of the defects of the confederation, and into an enumeration of the powers with which it ought to be clothed. In the summer of 1782, he was appointed by the legislature of New York, a delegate to congress. The same legislature that appointed him unanimously passed resolutions, introduced into the senate by General Schuyler, declaring that the confederation was defective in not giving to congress power to provide a revenue for itself, or in not investing them with funds from established and productive sources; and that it would be advisable for congress to recommend to the states to call a general convention to revise and amend the confederation.*

Colonel HAMILTON took his seat in congress, in November, 1782, and continued there until the autumn of 1783, and the proceedings of congress immediately assumed a new and more vigorous tone and character. He became at once engaged in measures calculated to relieve the embarrassed state of the public finances, and avert the dangers which beset the union of the states. His efforts to reanimate the power of the confederation, and to infuse some portion of life and vigor into the system, so as to render it somewhat adequate to the exigencies of the nation, were incessant. He was sustained in all his views, by that great statesman, the superintendant of finance, and by some superior minds in congress, and especially by Mr. Madison, whose talents, enlightened education, and services, were of distinguished value in that assembly. On the 6th of December, 1782, he moved and carried a resolution that the superintendant of finance represent to the legislatures of the several states, the indispensable

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* The illustrious HAMILTON was described by Talleyrand, who asserted that the greatest sight he had ever beheld in this country was seeing HAMILTON, with his pile of books under his arms, proceeding to the court room in the Old City Hall of New York, in order to obtain a livelihood, by expounding the law, and vindicating the rights of his clients. Let the ignorant and vain say what they please, here is true greatness!

necessity of complying with the requisitions of congress, for raising specified sums of money towards sustaining the expenses of government, and paying a year's interest on the domestic debt. On the 11th of the same month, he was chairman of the committee which reported the form of an application to the governor of Rhode Island, urging in persuasive terms, the necessity and reasonableness of the concurrence on the part of that state, in a grant to congress of a general import duty of five per cent., in order to raise a fund to discharge the national debt. It contained the assurance that the increasing discontents of the army, the loud clamors of the public creditors, and the extreme disproportion between the annual supplies and the demands of the public service, were invincible arguments in favor of that source of relief; and that calamities the most menacing might be anticipated if that expedient should fail. So again on the 16th of December, he was chairman of the committee that made a report of a very superior character in vindication of the same measure. On the 20th of March, 1783, Mr. HAMILTON submitted to congress another plan of a duty of five per cent., *ad valorem*, on imported goods, for the discharge of the army debt. On the 22d of that month, he again, as chairman, reported in favor of a grant of five years' full pay to the officers of the army, as a commutation for the half pay for life which had some time before been promised by congress. On the 24th of April following, he, as one of the committee, agreed to the report which Mr. Madison drew and reported as chairman, containing an address to the states in recommendation of the five per cent. duty; a document equally replete with clear and sound reasoning, and manly and elegant exhortation.

If such a series of efforts to uphold the authority and good faith of the nation failed at the time, yet HAMILTON and the other members of congress who partook of his fervor and patriotism, had the merit, at least, of preserving the honor of congress, while every other attribute of power was lost. There are other instances on record in the journals of that memorable session, in which Colonel HAMILTON was foremost to testify national gratitude for services in the field, and to show a lively sense of the sanctity of national faith. He was chairman of the committee which reported resolutions honorable to the character and services of Baron Steuben; and he introduced a resolution calling upon the states to remove every legal obstruction under their ocal jurisdictions in the way of the entire and faithful execution of the treaty of peace. His seat in congress expired at the end of the year 1783; but his zeal for the establishment of a national government,

competent to preserve us from insult abroad and degradation and dissension at home, and fitted to restore credit, to protect liberty, and to cherish and display our resources, kept increasing in intensity. His statesman-like views became more and more enlarged and comprehensive, and the action of his mind more rapid, as we approached the crisis of our destiny.

On the recovery of New York in the autumn of 1783, Mr. HAMILTON assumed the practice of the law; but his mind was still deeply occupied with discussions concerning the public welfare. In the winter of 1784, his pamphlet productions under the signature of *Phocion*, and addressed "to the considerate citizens of New York," excited very great interest. Their object was to check the intemperate spirit which prevailed on the recovery of the city of New York; to vindicate the constitutional and treaty rights of all classes of persons inhabiting the southern district of New York, then recently recovered from the enemy's possession; and to put a stop to every kind of proscriptive policy and legislative disabilities, as being incompatible with the treaty of peace, the spirit of whiggism, the dictates of policy, and the voice of law and justice. His appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the public was not made in vain. The force of plain truth carried his doctrines along against the stream of prejudice, and overcame every obstacle.

Colonel HAMILTON had scarcely began to display his great powers as an advocate at the bar, when he was again called into public life. He was elected a member of assembly for the city of New York, in 1786, and in the ensuing session he made several efforts to surmount the difficulties, and avert the evils, which encompassed the country. The state of Vermont was in fact independent, but she was not in the confederacy. His object was to relieve the nation from such a peril, and he introduced a bill into the house of assembly renouncing jurisdiction over that state, and preparing the way for its admission into the union. His proposition was ably resisted by counsel, heard at the bar of the house, and acting on behalf of claimants of lands in Vermont, under grant from New York. Mr. HAMILTON promptly met and answered the objections to the bill with his usual ability and familiar knowledge of the principles of public law. In the same session he made bold but unavailing efforts to prop up and sustain the tottering fabric of the confederation, and the prostrate dignity and powers of congress. His motion and very distinguished speech in favor of the grant to congress of an import duty of five per cent., was voted down in silence without attempting an answer. But a new era

was commencing. The clouds began to disperse, and the horizon was soon seen to kindle and glow with the approaches of a brighter day. HAMILTON was destined to display the rich fruits of his reflection and experience, and his entire devotedness to his country's cause in a more exalted sphere. In the same session he was appointed one of the three New York delegates to the general convention, recommended by congress to be held at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, to revise and amend the articles of confederation.

His services in that convention were immensely valuable. All contemporary information confirms it. His object was to make the experiment of a great federative republic, moving in the largest sphere, and resting entirely on a popular basis, as complete, satisfactory, and decisive as possible, in favor of civil liberty, public security and national greatness. He considered the best interests of mankind, and the character of free and popular institutions, as being deeply, and perhaps finally, involved in the result. Experimental propositions were made in the convention, and received as suggestions for consideration. The highest toned proposition which he ever made, was that the president and senate should be elected by electors chosen by the people, and that they as well as the judges should hold their offices during good behavior, and that the house of representatives should be elected triennially. His opinions essentially changed during the progress of the discussions, and he became satisfied that it would be dangerous to the public tranquillity, to elect by popular election a chief magistrate with so permanent a tenure; and towards the close of the convention, his subsequent plan gave to the office of president a duration of only three years.

When the constitution adopted by the convention was submitted to the consideration of the American people, Mr. HAMILTON, in association with Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison, commenced a series of essays under the signature of *Publius*, in explanation and vindication of the principles of the government. Those essays compose the two Volumes of that celebrated and immortal work "The Federalist." Several numbers appeared successively every week in the New York papers, between October, 1787, and the spring of 1788. The whole work consists of eighty-five numbers. Mr. Jay wrote five, Mr. Madison upwards of twenty, and Mr. HAMILTON the residue. The value of the union, the incompetency of the articles of confederation to preserve it, and the necessity of a government organized upon the principles, and clothed with the powers, of the one presented to the public, were topics discussed with a talent, force, information, skill,

and eloquence, to which we had not been accustomed. Mr. HAMILTON was also a member of the New York state convention, which met at Poughkeepsie in June, 1788. That convention was composed of many distinguished individuals of great weight of character. Most of them had been disciplined in the varied services of the revolution. But as Mr. HAMILTON had been a leading member of the national convention, and had signed the instrument before them, he felt and nobly sustained the weight of the responsibility attached to his situation; and as he had been also a leading writer in the Federalist, his mind was familiar with the principles of the constitution, and with every topic of debate. The wisdom of the commentator was displayed and enforced by the eloquence of the orator. He was prompt, ardent, energetic, and overflowing with an exuberance of argument and illustration.

After the constitution had been adopted by the requisite number of states, it went into operation in the course of the year 1789; and when the treasury department was established, Colonel HAMILTON was appointed secretary of the treasury. He remained in that office upwards of five years, and resigned it in January, 1795, after having built up and placed on sound foundations the fiscal concerns of the nation confided to his care, so as to leave to his successors little more to do than to follow his precepts, and endeavor to shine by the imitation of his example. His great duty consisted in devising and recommending a suitable provision for the gradual restoration of public credit and the faithful discharge of the national debt. His reports as secretary, made under the direction of the house of representatives, were so many didactic dissertations, laboriously wrought and highly finished, on some of the most difficult and complicated subjects in the science of political economy. Among those reports, the most interesting were, first, his report of January, 1790, on a provision for the support of public credit, in which he showed the necessity of funding the public debt; the inexpedience of discrimination between original and present holders of it; and the expediency of assuming the state debt. Second, his report of December, 1790, on the establishment of a national bank, in which he demonstrated that it was within the reach of the legitimate powers of the government, and essential to the convenient and prosperous administration of the national finances. His reasoning was so clear and cogent, that it carried the measure triumphantly through congress; notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Jefferson in the executive cabinet, he satisfied the cautious and solid judgment of Washington. Third, his report of December, 1791, on

the subject of domestic manufactures. This was one of his most elaborate reports, equally distinguished for knowledge and strength; and he seems not to have entertained a doubt, either of the constitutional right of congress to exercise its sound discretion on the subject or of the wisdom of the legislative encouragement of them in particular cases. Fourth, his report of January, 1795, on a plan for the further support of public credit. In his view, the true principle to render public credit immortal, was to accompany the creation of debt with the means of extinguishing it; and he recommended a provision for augmenting the sinking fund, so as to render it commensurate with the entire debt of the United States. By these financial measures which he had the honor to suggest and recommend, he enabled his country to feel and develope its immense resources; and under his administration public credit was awakened from death unto life, and rose with fair proportions and gigantic strength, so as to engage the attention and command the confidence of Europe. In connection with these splendid results, the integrity and simplicity with which he conducted his department, and which the most jealous and penetrating inquisition into all the avenues of his office could never question, forms with posterity one of his fairest titles to fame.

While Colonel HAMILTON presided over the treasury department, the French revolution burst forth with destructive violence, and brought on an embittered war between Great Britain and the French republic. Being a member of President Washington's cabinet council, Mr. HAMILTON was one of the advisers of the proclamation of neutrality in April, 1793, and he supported it by his vigorous pen. That proclamation was the index to the foreign policy of Washington, and it was temperately but firmly maintained against the intrigue and insolence of the French minister to the United States, and against all the force and fury of the turbulent passions of the times, engendered and inflamed by the French democracy. He aided the American policy of neutrality in some fugitive pieces under the signature *No Jacobin*, and in the more elaborate essays of *Pacificus*, and vastly more so by his advice in favor of the timely mission of Chief Justice Jay, as minister extraordinary to Great Britain, in the spring of 1794.

After Colonel HAMILTON'S return to private life and to the practice of his profession in the city of New York, he felt himself called upon by a sense of duty to vindicate the justice and wisdom of Mr. Jay's treaty, which had adjusted and extinguished the complaints and difficulties existing between the two nations. This he did in a series of essays under the signature of *Camillus*, in the summer of 1795.

They were profound and exhausting commentaries on particular branches of public law, and sustained with great ability and a thorough knowledge of the subject, the grounds on which our treaty and neutral claims and commercial interests had been ascertained and adjusted.

On reassuming his profession, Colonel HAMILTON entered at once into an overwhelming share of professional business. He was a great favorite with the New York merchants; and he justly deserved to be so, for he had uniformly proved himself to be an enlightened, intrepid, and persevering friend to the commercial prosperity of the country. He was a great master of commercial law, as well as of the principles of international jurisprudence. There were no deep recesses of the science which he did not explore. He would occasionally draw from the fountains of the civil law, and illustrate and enforce the enlightened decisions of Mansfield, by the severe judgment of Emerigon, and the lucid commentaries of Valin. In short, he conferred dignity and high reputation on the profession, of which he was indisputably the first of the first rank, by his indefatigable industry, his thorough researches, his logical powers, his solid judgment, his winning candor, and his matchless eloquence.

In the spring of 1798, he was involved once more in political discussion. The depredations of France upon our commerce, and the insults heaped upon our ministers, left to this country no alternative but open and determined resistance. At that crisis Mr. HAMILTON published a number of essays in the New York papers under the signature of *Titus Manlius*, with a view to rouse the people of this country to a sense of impending danger, and to measures of defence which should be at once vigorous and effectual. No productions of any pen ever portrayed in more just and more glowing colors, the atrocities of revolutionary France towards her own people, and towards other nations, under the impetus of unprincipled ambition and ruthless fanaticism. He suggested that we ought to suspend our treaties with France, fortify our harbors, protect our commerce, attack their predatory cruisers on our coast, create a respectable naval force, and raise, organize, and discipline a respectable body of troops, as an indispensable precaution against attempts at invasion. The facts were so undeniable, and the conclusions so just, that in the summer of 1798, all those precautionary and necessary measures were literally carried into execution by congress, and received the prompt and hearty sanction of the nation. At the earnest recommendation of General Wash-

ington, HAMILTON was appointed inspector-general of the small provincial army that was raised in that year.

That public trust did not detach him from his profession, nor long detain him from its duties. He continued his devotedness to the bar during the short residue of his life. In the winter of 1804, Colonel Burr was proposed at Albany as a candidate for governor. General HAMILTON, at a public meeting of persons belonging to the federal party, decidedly objected to the nomination, declaring that he deemed Colonel Burr an unsafe and unfit person to be placed in such a trust, and that he would never unite with his party on such a candidate. Declarations of that kind made on public and patriotic grounds, and when it was his right and his duty to make them if he thought so, (and of which no one doubted,) cost him his life. In the summer following, after Colonel Burr had lost the election, he deemed it expedient to call General HAMILTON personally to account for what he had said. The latter very mistakingly thought it necessary to meet his antagonist in the field. He fell on the 12th July, 1804, and all America mourned over the fate of such an innocent and illustrious victim.

A simple fact is often highly illustrative of character. When Hopkins, the publisher of "The Federalist," proposed to republish the papers he had written in it, saying "They are demanded by the spirit of the times and the desire of the people," HAMILTON replied, "Do you really think, Mr. Hopkins, that those fugitive essays will be read if reprinted? Well, give me a few days to consider." "Will not this be a good opportunity, General HAMILTON," rejoined Hopkins, "to revise them, and if so, to make, perhaps alterations, in some parts, if necessary?" "No, sir, if reprinted, they must stand exactly as at first, not a word of alteration. A comma may be inserted or left out, but the work must undergo no change whatever."

A few days had elapsed, when, on the next interview, General HAMILTON agreed to the reprint, with the express condition that he himself must inspect the revised proofs. Not a word was ever altered. "You think something of the papers?" said HAMILTON to the printer. "Mr. Hopkins, let them be issued. Heretofore, sir, I have given the people common milk; hereafter, shortly, sir, I shall give them strong meat." Alas, that death prevented the execution of his purpose!

# OLIVER H. PERRY.

THE success of our naval warfare with England in the revolutionary struggle, and in the war of 1812, has given a greater impulse to the patriotic feelings of our nation than a hundred battles on land would have produced, however victorious they might have been. In justice to this feeling, and to keep it alive, the general history of our navy should be familiar to every one in the nation.

There are many of our naval heroes who deserve much from their countrymen, and who should be grouped in our history, as well as separated for distinction in our biography. From among these we have selected, for this number of our work, a name dear to all who have at heart their country's honor.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY was born at Newport in August, 1785. He was early destined for the navy by his father, then in the service of the United States. He was entered a midshipman on board of the sloop of war General Greene, in 1798; a period of general excitement on account of our commercial difficulties with France.

He was too young at that time to gain any other laurels than those which are won from friends by polite observances of gentlemanly courtesy and strict probity. These are truly earnests of future fame, and should be prized as things of promise as well as of present value.

Midshipman PERRY was in the Tripolitan war, and secured the affection and respect of all the officers and men in the squadron. By seizing every opportunity to gain information, and showing to all that he was desirous of being instructed, and ready on any occasion to instruct, he became, very early in life, an accomplished navigator and seaman.

In 1810, he was a lieutenant commandant in the schooner Revenge, a vessel attached to the squadron under Commodore Rodgers at New London, and employed in Long Island Sound to prevent infractions of the embargo laws. In this vessel, in the spring of 1811, he was wrecked in a fog near Stonington. He demanded a court of

inquiry on his conduct. The court acquitted him of all blame, and reported that it was owing to his coolness and intrepidity that the guns and other property, with the crew of the Revenge, were saved. Such a misfortune often tries an officer's character more than several ordinary battles.

The nation not only responded to the report of the court of inquiry, but Mr. Secretary Hamilton wrote Lieutenant PERRY a very complimentary letter on his admirable conduct under the calamity. It is seldom that an officer gains by his misfortunes, but this was distinctly the case with PERRY.

This time of peace and restrictive system was trying to our naval commanders; they hated to be made spies upon smugglers, and overseers of little matters; and many of them resigned their commissions.

In 1812, Lieutenant PERRY was promoted to the rank of master and commander, and appointed to the command of the gunboats in the harbor of New York; but he was soon disgusted with this service, for it was dull and inactive, and did not afford any chance of gaining distinction, or of improvement in naval tactics. Every sailor under his command imbibed the same impressions; and when, at his solicitations, he was ordered to Lake Ontario to reinforce Commodore Chauncey, his men volunteered to go with him. On his arrival at Sackett's Harbor, Commodore Chauncey ordered PERRY to Lake Erie to superintend the building of vessels, in order to meet the force the British had on those waters. He commenced his labors with extraordinary zeal, and gave animation to every heart and hand engaged in increasing the naval power on Lake Erie. On the 4th of August he got his squadron over the bar, and swept into the deep waters of the lake. The enemy did not molest him while in this unpleasant situation, although they were daily watching his movements. He sailed in pursuit of the squadron, but soon returned, not being able to meet them. Being reinforced by a considerable number of men, on the 12th he sailed again; on the 15th he arrived at Sandusky; then cruised about Malden, and offered battle to the enemy's fleet at anchor under the guns of the fort, but the challenge was not accepted.

On the 10th of September the American squadron were lying at Put-in-Bay; at sunrise the British squadron were discovered by PERRY, making towards him. PERRY's force was two twenty-gun brigs, and several small vessels, carrying in all fifty-four guns, and manned with about six hundred persons; sailors, landsmen, and boys. The British

force was superior in men and metal, being six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At eleven o'clock, A. M., the British were formed in line of battle; but the wind now changing, PERRY had an opportunity to bear down upon them as he chose. The commodore, in the Lawrence, led. From her mast head was displayed the last words of the gallant Captain Lawrence, who fell in the action between the Chesapeake and Shannon: "Don't give up the ship." At a few minutes past twelve, the British commenced firing, and some damage was done to the Lawrence before PERRY could make his short guns bear upon the enemy. At length he opened his battery, and stood the fire of the enemy's force for two hours. The other part of his own fleet did not come to his assistance. The Lawrence was become unmanageable; her decks were strewed with the dead; her guns were dismounted. At this moment PERRY conceived a bold and most admirable design. It was no sooner conceived than it was put in execution. Giving the command of the Lawrence to Lieutenant Yarnell, he took his flag under his arm, jumped into his boat, and amidst a shower of shot made his way to the Niagara, the second ship of his squadron. He went off from the Lawrence standing up in his boat; but the seamen, seeing how much he was exposed, seized him with affectionate violence, and pulled him down to a seat. His flag was now seen flying from the mast head of the Niagara, comparatively a fresh ship. This was a moment full of peril. The youthful hero was as calm as adventurous. He brought his ship in a position to break the enemy's line of battle. He gave two ships a raking fire with his starboard guns, poured a broadside into a schooner from his larboard tier, and lay his ship alongside of the British commodore. The effect of his fire was terrific, and the enemy's battery was silenced in a very short time. The small American vessels were soon brought up, and the contest decided, which had now lasted for nearly three hours. The enemy was not only entirely subdued, but all his vessels were taken, and brought to the American side of the lake. Never did a warrior fight with a braver or more skilful foe. Commodore Barclay, who commanded the British squadron on that day, was a man of no ordinary fame. He had gained laurels at the battle of Trafalgar, and other sea-fights, where Englishmen had bled and won the victory; but this day his experience did not avail him—he was forced to yield. The loss was great on both sides, but much more severe on the part of the British. They had two hundred killed and wounded; the Americans about one hundred and twenty-three

Commodore Barclay was severely wounded, having lost his remaining hand in the fight; the other had been shot off in some previous battle.

In this fight PERRY'S conduct was marked with skill, bravery, and perseverance. He omitted nothing, did every thing he should have done, and no more. He was as humane as brave, and as modest as humane. He took special care of the wounded of the enemy, as well as of his own gallant crews, and did all that could have been done to assuage the wounds of person and of feeling of Commodore Barclay, while he was a prisoner in his power.

The effects of his victory were felt in every part of the country. It silenced those who had clamored against the war, and who, among other things, had ventured to prognosticate that our officers could not manage a fleet, however well they might fight a single ship. Those who had opposed the war now united with the friends of it in wreathing garlands for our victorious seamen. The whole story had an epic effect, national pride was kindled up, and the people in every part of the country celebrated the victory with enthusiasm.

For this action PERRY was made a captain in the navy, and received the thanks of congress, and other marks of distinction, particularly from several of the state legislatures; but he did not repose upon his laurels, or rest satisfied with what he had done. Finding no more hostile fleets to subdue, he offered himself as an aid to General Harrison, then in pursuit of the enemy, and participated with that gallant officer in his dangers and honors at the battle of Moravian Town, on the 5th of October following his own victory.

The president of the United States, in his message to congress, speaks of the conduct of Captain PERRY in the highest terms of praise, as reflecting honor on this nation; and Mr. Madison was never given to flattery.

At the time of the invasion of Virginia and Maryland by the British under General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, Captain PERRY had a command on the Potomac, but not in sufficient force to do any thing effective. Washington was taken, but no naval officer suffered any diminution of his fame from this act; the fault must rest among others if there was any fault in the affair.

At the conclusion of the war Captain PERRY was appointed to the command of the Java, a frigate of the first class, and sailed with Commodore Decatur to chastise the Dey of Algiers, who had, during our difficulties with Great Britain, thought it a favorable time to plunder our commerce. Decatur reached the Mediterranean in June,

1815, and in a few days captured an Algerine frigate, under the command of Admiral Reis Hammida, who had been styled "*The Terror of the Seas.*" Decatur then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, and speedily adjusted matters with those powers, who had likewise thought it a favorable time to make unjust demands of our government.

After PERRY had returned to the United States from the Mediterranean, and while the Java was lying at Newport in midwinter, information was received by him that a merchant vessel was on a reef, about five or six miles from that place, and that the crew were still on the wreck, at the mercy of the winds and waves. He manned his barge, and said to his rowers, "Come, my boys, we are going to the relief of shipwrecked seamen; pull away." They returned him a look of fearless determination, which seemed to say, where you go we go. The vessel had gone to pieces, but eleven men were on her quarter deck, which had separated from the hull of the vessel, and was floating as a raft on the billows. This act may not be thought to belong to the class of heroic deeds by some, who are attracted only by the blaze of military glory; but the great mass of his countrymen declared that he was as deserving of the civic as of the naval crown.

Such a man as PERRY could not be idle; and in 1819 he was sent in the John Adams to the West India station, with sealed orders. He had the command of the squadron on that station. It was a command of importance, for pirates had swarmed in that vicinity, and not only vexed our commerce, but had committed murders of the most horrid character. The utmost vigilance and energy were necessary, but he was not long to be the guardian of those seas. The yellow fever was in the squadron, and of this disease he died on the 23d of August, 1820, just as his ship was entering a port in Trinidad. Thus perished, in the prime of life, and in the midst of usefulness, one of the most gallant officers of this or any other country. He was buried on the 24th, with military honors.

When his death was made known in the United States, every tribute of national grief was paid to his memory. The congress of the United States made a liberal provision for his family, including his mother, who was leaning on him for support. A republic is now and then grateful.

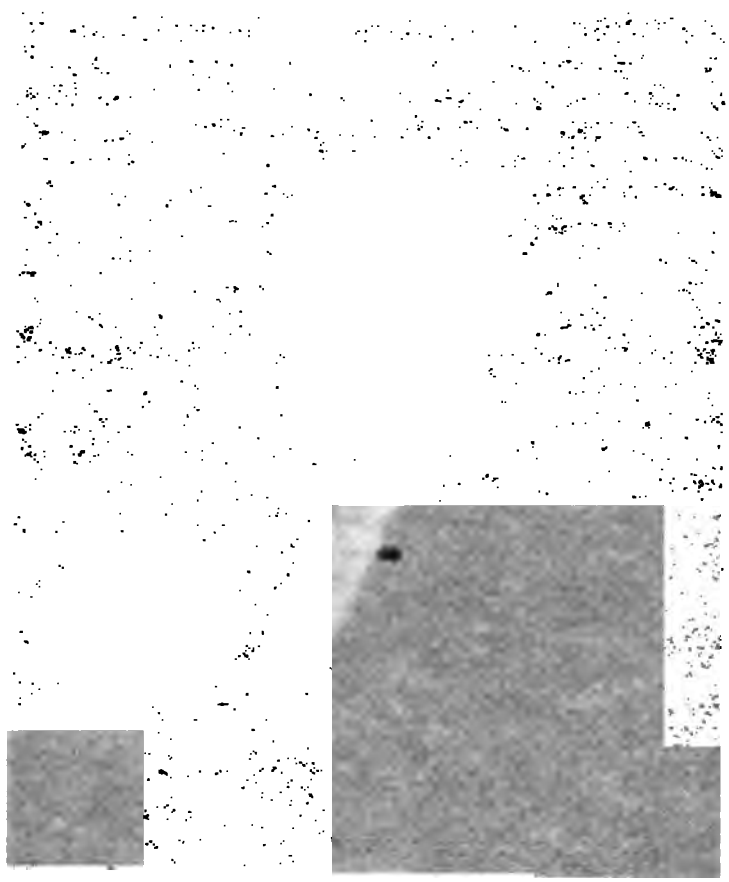
Commodore PERRY had early in life married a daughter of Doctor Mason, of Newport, and was happy in his domestic ties. He was a man of splendid talents, of great tact in his profession, and every way fitted for a great naval commander. His

intrepidity was at the same time constitutional and acquired. He had in his youth contemplated the beau-ideal of a naval hero—a model of his own creation—whose elements were formed from all the great commanders, from Themistocles to Nelson; and if the Fates were kind, he intended to emulate him; and this before he had heard the whistling of a ball, or seen one drop of blood shed by contending with a foe.

In his whole course of life he had measured means in relation to ends. He never ventured upon any thing that was not feasible, and of course seldom acted without success. His mind was prolific, but well balanced. He never was swayed from his purpose, or "frightened from his propriety;" but in all the business of his profession conducted with a wisdom and gravity beyond his years. His letters prove that he could write with taste and spirit, and had a sense of honor worthy his station in our republic. He was said to have imitated Nelson; but every great man is like some distinguished predecessor. There is a similarity in mighty minds, whenever or wherever they appear.

In person, Commodore PERRY was of the warrior cast, tall and well proportioned; yet not so colossal as to destroy a fine symmetry of limbs, and graceful movement of body. The expression of his face was manly and intellectual, with a greater proportion of refinement than is often found in the countenances of sea-faring men.

The remains of Commodore PERRY have been brought to his native country, and buried in Newport. The legislature of Rhode Island appropriated a sum of money to erect a monument to his memory, and this has been done. But the works of such men immortalize them, or even if for awhile their names are forgotten, the results they produce tell on the prosperity of their country from age to age. Dreadful might the results have been, if in our early history, heroes on the land and the sea had not impressed the world with the fact that while *we desire no more, we will be content with no less than our own.*



# EDWARD SHIPPEN.

In presenting the portrait of the late Chief Justice Shippen, we are sure that we shall gratify, not only his numerous friends, by whom his memory is affectionately cherished, but the public, who are indebted to him for many and important services. He was, in every sense, a son of Pennsylvania, born and educated in the city of Philadelphia, and to his native state he devoted his labors and talents during a long and useful life. He was born on the sixteenth day of February, 1729. His grandfather, William Shippen, was a gentleman of fortune and family, in the county of York, England; and his father, Edward Shippen, emigrated to America about the year 1675. He first settled in Boston, but removed to Philadelphia about the year 1700, where his character and acquirements soon obtained for him the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, and led him to various offices of honor and emolument. He became a member of the governor's council, a commissioner of the board of property, a judge of the general court, and was the first mayor of the city.

Edward Shippen, the subject of this memoir, followed the honorable course of his father, and fully sustained the reputation derived from him. Having completed his elementary education with distinguished diligence and success, he commenced the study of the law under the direction of Tench Francis, Esquire, then the attorney-general of Pennsylvania. In 1748, Mr. Shippen, having prosecuted his legal studies for about two years, went to London to complete them in the Temple. In our day, this is no longer necessary; nor indeed are our American youth required to go abroad for instruction, in any of the learned professions more than in the mechanic arts. After spending two years in London, not in frivolous dissipated pursuits, but in the acquirement of the knowledge of his profession and the general cultivation of his mind, Mr. Shippen was admitted a barrister of the Middle Temple; and he returned to Philadelphia, to commence his career of life, and enter upon the duties of a lawyer and a citizen. He was so occupied, when the war of our

revolution interrupted the civil pursuits of our citizens, and suspended, more or less, their private business.

On the happy conclusion of this momentous struggle, the departments of government, as well as the occupations of the people, returned to their regular action and course. To furnish the judiciary with men of suitable qualifications, as to character and knowledge, was obviously an object of primary importance. Professional learning and moral integrity in the administration of the laws, were indispensable to secure the public confidence for the courts of justice; and in seaching for them, Mr. SHIPPEN could not be overlooked. He was accordingly appointed president of the court of common pleas of the county of Philadelphia, a place of high trust; and was also the presiding judge of the court of quarter sessions for the city and county. These appointments were made under the constitution of the state, adopted in 1776. A more perfect organization of the judiciary was made by the constitution of 1790.

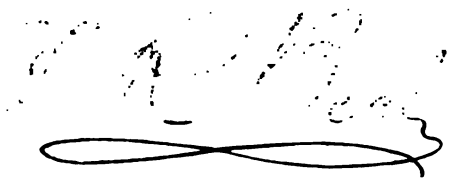
In 1791, Mr. SHIPPEN was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole state, and whose duties and powers called for the highest grade of professional learning and talents, as well as of personal character and public confidence. On the election of Chief Justice M'Kean to the executive chair of the commonwealth in 1799, Judge SHIPPEN succeeded him on the bench, and was appointed Chief Justice by Governor M'Kean, who was perfectly well acquainted with the qualifications the office demanded, and with the fitness of the person he selected for it. Chief Justice SHIPPEN continued to perform the duties of his exalted station with undiminished ability, and unimpaired confidence and respect, until the close of the year 1805, when the infirmities of age, he being then nearly seventy-seven years old, admonished him to retire to repose. A few months after his resignation of office, on the sixteenth day of April, 1806, he found his final resting place, placidly leaving the world, in which, from his earliest youth, he had been conspicuous for his virtues and usefulness. The volumes of our judicial reports are enriched with many of his opinions, of great importance; and these are now received with the same respect they commanded, when they were sustained by his personal and official influence and authority. Much of our law which is now well settled, was, at the period of his judicial administration, in a state of uncertainty, long usages sometimes interfering with positive legislative enactments. Principles were to be established suitable to our system of jurisprudence, and con-

structions to be given to doubtful laws. His sound mind, his excellent legal education and great experience, his cool temper and discriminating sagacity, were all admirably calculated for the performance of such functions; and he did perform them in a manner to satisfy his contemporaries, and to be approved and unshaken to this day. Judicial qualifications and services are not of a character to catch the multitude, or to be the subjects of popular applause; but there is no officer concerned in the administration of the affairs of a people, whose duties are more anxious and arduous to himself, or more important to the community, than those of the judge. The preparatory education and long study; the painful and attentive experience, which are indispensable for the attainment of the qualifications befitting the bench; the habits of close and careful investigation; the faculty of liscovering the true ground of controversy, of distinguishing between real and apparent resemblances, between sound reasoning and ingenious sophism; the firmness never to yield principles to expediency, nor to sacrifice or disturb the great system of jurisprudence for particular cases; and withal, to hold a perfect command over every feeling that might irritate the temper or mislead the judgment, present to our contemplation a combination of rare and valuable qualities, deserving our highest consideration and respect. The laws must be sustained with independence and intelligence, or it is in vain that they are wise and salutary; justice must be rendered faithfully to the parties who appeal for it to the judicial tribunals, or it is a mockery to promise them protection and redress. The active, efficient, vital operations of the government are performed by the courts. No man is so high or so humble as to be beyond their reach; they bring the laws into every man's house, to punish or to protect them. Such are the responsibilities of a judge. It was on the judgment seat of the law, that the high qualities of Chief Justice SHIPPEN were brought into their best exercise and use. He seemed by nature as well as education to have been especially prepared for this station. Patient, learned, discriminating and just, no passion or private interest, no selfish or unworthy feeling of favor or resentment ever held the slightest influence over his conduct or decisions.

Few situations expose the temper to more irritating trials than that of a judge. He must occasionally encounter ignorance, impertinence, stupidity, obstinacy, and chicanery, and he must take care that they do not move him from his line of duty. The bland and equal temper of Chief Justice SHIPPEN never forsook him amidst such trials, but, on the contrary, threw a charm over his

manner of repelling or submitting to them. The young and the timid advocate was encouraged by his kindness, and flattered by his attention. He knew and practiced the lesson of Lord Bacon, that "patience is one of the first duties of a judge;" and he felt that he was bound to hear every party and every advocate, before he decided his cause. A suitor might go from his court disappointed by the judgment, but he could not be dissatisfied with the judge.

Of the private character and deportment of Chief Justice SHIPPEN, it may be truly said that he has left few imitators of his manners. His politeness was of the kind that has its foundations in a well regulated temper and the best feelings of a benevolent heart, polished by a familiar intercourse, from his birth, with refined society. He combined, in a remarkable degree, benignity with dignity, conciliating the affections while he commanded a perfect respect; and, as a valuable citizen, and an accomplished lawyer and judge, remarkable for the great extent and minute accuracy of his knowledge, he must ever be conspicuous, among those worthies who have won, by their virtues and their talents, an imperishable name.



# THEODRIC ROMEYN BECK, M.D.

It is not always the men who shine with the most brilliancy before the world, and occasionally astonish our senses with their exploits, who are really the most useful, or the most worthy.

The life of a professional man, unlike that of the statesman or the warrior, affords but few incidents calculated to excite interest, or allure attention. It is not on that account, however, less worthy of record, or barren of utility.

The subject of the present memoir, as one of the most successful of American medical authors, seems justly entitled to a place, in a work designed to perpetuate the names of those who have distinguished themselves, by their talents or their erudition.

Theodric Romeyn Beck was born of highly respectable parents, on the eleventh of August, 1791, at Schenectady, in the state of New York. His grandfather was the Reverend Theodric Romeyn, D.D., one of the professors of theology in the Reformed Dutch Church, and one of its most distinguished ornaments. The rudiments of Doctor Beck's education were received at the grammar school in his native place; and, in 1803, he entered Union college, an institution which had been established a few years previously, principally through the agency and active exertions of his grandfather. In 1807 he was graduated, and commenced the study of medicine under the late Doctors M'Clelland and Low, of Albany. His medical education was afterwards completed under the care of Doctor David Hosack, of New York, in which place he attended the lectures of the college of Physicians and Surgeons, and obtained from that institution the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1811; on which occasion he wrote and published an inaugural dissertation on "Insanity." Immediately on his graduation, he commenced the practice of his profession in the city of Albany.

In 1815, he was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence, in the college of Physicians

and Surgeons of the western district of the state of New York, a station which he has held ever since. As this appointment did not require his absence from Albany during any very considerable portion of the year, he still continued to practice medicine in that place. This, however, did not long continue; and in a short time, owing to an apprehension that his health was inadequate to the arduous duties of practice, and perhaps, also, to a superior and growing fondness for literary pursuits, he abandoned completely the practical exercise of his profession, and in 1817, accepted the situation of principal of the Albany Academy.

This institution, in every thing but the name, is on an equality with many of the colleges of our country. With a building distinguished for its architectural beauty, erected by the public authorities of the city, and aided by able professors in various departments, under the superintendence of Doctor BECK it has attained a high and deserved rank among the literary institutions of our country.

It is as an author, however, that the subject of this memoir is mainly distinguished. In 1813, he delivered the annual address before the Society of Arts, of Albany, *On the Mineralogical Resources of the United States.* This we believe was the earliest systematic account of the mineral wealth of our country, and the production, which was published, received from various quarters the most respectful notice.

In 1823, Doctor BECK published his work entitled "Elements of Medical Jurisprudence," in two volumes, octavo; which, at the time, attracted great attention, and has since continued a standard work on the subject of which it treats. The science of medical jurisprudence is one of great interest and importance. It treats of all those questions in which the testimony of a medical man may be required before courts of justice, and from the nature of many of the questions, it is obvious that their discussion requires the widest range of medical and scientific knowledge. Although deeply studied in Italy, France, and Germany, this science had scarcely attracted any attention, either in this country or in England, previously to the publication of the work of Doctor BECK. To him is certainly due the high credit, not merely of rousing public attention to an important and neglected subject, but also of presenting a work upon it which probably will never be entirely superseded. In foreign countries, its merits have been duly appreciated and magnanimously acknowledged. The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal says of it—

"Under the unassuming title of Elements of Medical Jurispru-

dence, Doctor BECK has presented us with a comprehensive system, which embraces almost every valuable fact or doctrine relating to it. Each of its diversified departments has been investigated so minutely, that few cases can occur in practice, on which it will be necessary to seek elsewhere for farther information. At the same time, by studying succinctness, and shunning those verbose oratorical details with which other writers, and particularly those of France, abound, he has succeeded in rendering his treatise comprehensive within a singularly moderate compass. We may securely assert, that a work on the subject is not to be found in any language, which displays so much patient and discriminating research, with so little of the mere ostentation of learning. The opinions expressed both on general principles and on the particular questions which have occurred in courts of law, are given clearly and judiciously. There are few occasions, even where the points at issue are difficult and obscure, on which persons of skill and experience will be disposed to differ materially with him."

In the various medical colleges of Great Britain there has been, we believe, no text book on medical jurisprudence positively adopted; but we have been informed that Doctor BECK's work has been for years recommended to students by professors.

In 1828, it was translated into German at Weimar, and has been favorably received in various parts of the continent of Europe.

It is not alone the physician and the jurist who are indebted to Doctor BECK for this essential work; but it has proved to the general reader, we believe invariably, a fund of interesting information; and we will venture to say, that no one has ever risen from its perusal without experiencing an agreeable surprise, that a subject so uninviting in its title, should afford so much amusement. The remarks of a writer in Blackwood's Magazine agree so well with our own experience, that we cannot do better than adopt them. "The ignorant state in which jurymen continually come to the consideration of points of medical evidence on criminal trials, is lamentable. In regard to men of any habits of reading, it is really sinful; and certainly not the less so, because the works which they ought to read and master, happen to be about the most interesting and amusing books in the world."

Doctor BECK is one of the founders and active supporters of the Albany institute, a scientific and literary association, which has already published the first volume of its Transactions, highly creditable to itself and to its members.

Of the personal qualities of the subject of this memoir, it is perhaps hardly fit to speak. Suffice it to say, he is universally respected and esteemed. Unpretending in his manners and studious in his habits, the voice of praise has not rendered him arrogant or indolent, and the science of his country has much yet to hope from his labors and learning.

So far as relates to the prominent incidents in the life of this distinguished individual, the brief memoir already given is sufficiently copious and faithful. His career in the march of science and philosophy has, up to the present hour, remained unchanged by misfortune or reverse. Devoted with a peculiar love to the study of Juridical science his great work on Medical Jurisprudence, has, by successive editions, became a vast repository of precious truths, indispensably necessary to every sound lawyer, to every medical man who would give proper and safe testimony in criminal cases before courts, as well as to the enlightened citizen desirous of the promulgation of wholesome doctrines on hygiene and public health. Nor is this estimate of Dr. Beck's work on Forensie medicine limited to the opinion of his own countrymen: European science and its cultivators have favored its wide diffusion as among the surest guides of knowledge as a text book for colleges and universities of the highest renown in the Old World.

The long association of Dr. Beck with academic education has recently identified him still more closely with the interests of popular instruction in the great state of New York. Thoroughly conversant with the various measures which from time to time have been adopted by the regents of the University in the distribution of funds and in the maintenance of public schools, he has lately been selected as the secretary of the board in the place of that venerable citizen and excellent man Gideon Hawley. The Public or State Library of Albany has also long enjoyed the suggestions of his wisdom in its government. It remains only to add that upon the organization of the new Medical College at Albany, and his secession from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of western New York, (now an extinct institution,) Dr. Beck has been appointed by the Regents to the chair of Materia Medica. Lately Professor Beck has most meritoriously been created LL. D. by the faculty of Union College.

# OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS.

THE military operations of the revolution naturally present themselves in review in two series, divided geographically by the Chesapeake bay; so distinctly drawn is this line, that in every connected history of the period, from the evacuation of Boston to the capture of Cornwallis, we find the narrative alternately carries the reader's attention from one to the other side of that estuary.

This has placed the officers of the army in groups, which are inseparable in our mental associations, and renders the repetition of much historical memoranda unnecessary in this work, in which the memoirs of many of the most prominent actors in the same scenes are brought together; we shall, therefore, in the present instance, confine ourselves to as brief a space as is possible, with a due regard to the merits of an accomplished gentleman and gallant soldier.

OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS was born in Prince George county, Maryland, in 1748. His ancestors were among the earliest emigrants from Britain, after Lord Baltimore became proprietor of the province. At the age of about twelve years, he was left an orphan, but was protected and educated by his brother-in-law, Mr. Ross. While yet a youth, he was placed in the clerk's office of the county of Frederick, and he afterwards removed to the clerk's office of Baltimore.

He was then about eighteen years of age, nearly six feet high, elegantly formed, his whole appearance and conduct manly beyond his years, and his manners such as made friends of all who knew him. He returned to Frederick, and early in the revolutionary war (1775) was appointed a lieutenant in a rifle company, commanded by Captain Price. The company marched to Boston, and his captain being promoted, he succeeded to the command of it. When Fort Washington was attacked, he had the rank of major, and as commander of the riflemen, was stationed in a wood in advance of the fort. The Hessians attempted to dislodge him, and were twice driven back with great slaughter. Having been reinforced, they

made a third attempt, and succeeded in driving the riflemen from their position. In this last attack, Major WILLIAMS received a wound in the groin, and was taken prisoner. He was sent to New York, where he was suffered to go at large on his parole. His fine martial appearance, gentlemanly manners, and polite deportment, procured for him civilities that few others were favored with, until a suspicion arose that, being competent, he would carry on a secret correspondence with General Washington, and on that suspicion alone, he was put in close confinement, with ten or eleven other officers, under the provost guard, in a small room not more than sixteen feet square, without the privilege of egress, or of having the room cleaned more than once or twice a week. Their provisions were of the coarsest kind, and barely sufficient to keep soul and body together. In that miserable situation he was kept, until exchanged for Major Ackland,* who had been wounded and taken prisoner at Burgoyne's defeat. The length of time he was confined, and the treatment he received during that period, shattered his fine constitution, and planted the seeds of the complaint which terminated his existence.

During his captivity, Major WILLIAMS was promoted to the command of the sixth regiment of the Maryland line; that division marched to the south, and in all the battles that were fought by that celebrated line, Colonel WILLIAMS distinguished himself.

He acted as deputy adjutant-general of the southern army, under General Gates, and has left a detailed and lucid narrative of the disastrous campaign of 1780, from which we shall occasionally borrow.

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* These gallant young men became warm friends before they parted; and General Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, has preserved an anecdote of the period, which we transplant to our pages, for the double purpose of illustrating our subject, and of rendering a tribute to the memory of a generous enemy, who afterwards lost his life in vindicating the military character of Americans. "On an occasion, after dining with Lady Harriet, he (Ackland) proposed to Major WILLIAMS to visit an assembly; they entered, and the attention of the belles and beaux could not but be attracted by two such elegant figures as Ackland and WILLIAMS; but the rancour of civil animosity prevailed over the obligations of good breeding, and WILLIAMS was shunned like a pestilence. Ackland made his introduction general, but without effect, and after sauntering across the room several times, 'Come, WILLIAMS,' said he, 'this society is too illiberal for you and me; let us go home, and sup with Lady Harriet.'

"Ackland, after his return to England, at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision; he was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a Lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years."

## OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS.

After the battle of Camden, all the fragments of the army that could be gathered together were marched off from Charlotte to Salisbury, "constituting," in the language of the narrative referred to, "a wretched remnant of the late southern army; amongst the rest were six soldiers who left the hospital with other convalescents; they had all suffered in Buford's unfortunate affair, and had but two sound arms amongst them; indeed four of them had not one arm among them, and two only an arm apiece." Such are the shocking spectacles that war exhibits.

After a little breathing time had been allowed at Hillsborough, a board of officers, convened by order of General Gates, determined that all the effective men should be formed into two battalions, constituting one regiment; to be completely officered and provided for in the best possible manner that circumstances would admit, and the command of it given to Colonel WILLIAMS and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard. This nucleus of the southern army was encamped at some distance from the town—if the word "encamped" can be properly applied to men who were sheltered in "wigwams, made of fence rails, poles, and corn tops." But, notwithstanding this unostentatious mode of dwelling, by the judicious conduct of the officers, a spirit was diffused amongst the troops which was felt by the enemy in the next encounter. Parade duties were regularly attended, as well by officers as soldiers, and discipline not only began to be perfectly restored, but even gave an air of stability and confidence to the regiment which all their rags could not disguise. In this encampment, no circumstance of want or distress was admitted as an excuse for relaxing from the strictest discipline, to which the soldiers more cheerfully submitted, as they saw their officers constantly occupied in procuring for them whatever was attainable in their situation. Absolutely without pay; almost destitute of clothing; often with only a half ration, and never with a whole one, (without substituting one article for another,) not a soldier was heard to murmur, after the third or fourth day of their being encamped. Instead of meeting and conferring in small sullen squads, as they had formerly done, they filled up the intervals from duty with manly exercises and field sports; in short, the officers had very soon the entire confidence of the men, who divested themselves of all unnecessary care, and devoted themselves to duty and pastime within the limits assigned them.

On General Greene's assuming the command of the southern army, he soon discovered the superior abilities of Colonel WILLIAMS,

and appointed him adjutant-general of his army. In this high trust, he enjoyed the confidence of his general and the army, and fully merited it by his gallantry and his strict attention to his duties. In every action—and they were numerous—he displayed tact, judgment, and presence of mind. He gained great honor for his conduct in covering, with the rear guard, which he commanded, the memorable retreat of the army through North Carolina.

He baffled every attempt of the enemy to bring on a general engagement, and by checking his advance, gained sufficient time to enable the main body of the army to secure its retreat. The preservation of that army has been justly attributed to him for his firmness, coolness, and able manœuvres.

In the battle at the Eutaw Springs, he led that celebrated charge, which gained him the highest honors of the day. At a critical moment General Greene issued the order, "Let WILLIAMS advance and sweep the field with his bayonets." Promptly was the order obeyed—the field was swept, but the victory was dearly bought. Near the close of the war, he was sent by General Greene with despatches to congress, and was by that body promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, as a reward for his gallant services. About that period the state collector of the customs for Baltimore, died, and WILLIAMS received the appointment from the governor of Maryland. The office was lucrative, and he enjoyed it until the adoption of the constitution of the United States, when Washington appointed him to the same office, which he held until his death.

General WILLIAMS married Mary, the second daughter of William Smith, a wealthy merchant of Baltimore, who had been a member of congress. They had four sons, William, Edward, Henry, and Otho, all of whom inherited handsome fortunes, and many of the fine qualities of their father. William and Edward married, the former Miss Susan Cook, and the latter Miss Gilmore, of Baltimore. The four brothers have all, however, been called to early graves, and the only lineal representatives of the gallant, amiable, and accomplished WILLIAMS, are the two sons, and two daughters of his son William, and a daughter of his son Edward.

The health of General WILLIAMS had been very delicate for many years; the result of the cruelty inflicted on him while a prisoner, and of the severe service he was engaged in, during his campaign in the south. He died on the 16th of July, 1794, on his way to a watering place, regretted by his country and his friends.

# JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

COLONEL JOSEPH HABERSHAM was born at Savannah, in Georgia, on the 28th of July, 1751. His father, James Habersham, was a native of Yorkshire, England, and accompanied his friend, the Rev. George Whitefield, to Georgia in the year 1738. There he soon became the President of the Orphan House, or Bethesda College, established by the exertions of Mr. Whitefield; for which charge he was well qualified, by his literary, as well as moral and religious character and habits. He was afterwards appointed one of the King's Council in the Colony, and subsequently its President and acting Governor, in the absence of Sir James Wright, in which situation he remained until his death, a few months before the expulsion of the Royal authority from Georgia, in the year 1776. Although foreign to our subject, it is but justice to the memory of President Habersham to remark, that, while in office, his letters pointed out to the ministry the grievances under which the Colony was laboring from the pernicious and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, the growing spirit of liberty among the people, and warned them of the consequences of perseverance in oppression. Faithful to his duties, but independent in their exercise, after a life devoted to the service and improvement of his adopted country, he was saved, by death, from seeing that country "made a desolation," his fair possessions wasted, and his sons denounced as traitors. Of these sons there were three, JAMES, JOSEPH, and JOHN, who all engaged with zeal in the Revolution; and, regardless of consequences, rejecting and despising all offers of Royal clemency, continued to the end the unflinching friends and active supporters of the republican cause.

JOSEPH, the second son, and subject of this notice, was educated at Princeton College, in New Jersey. Of quick and ardent temper, brave and chivalrous almost to excess, a pupil of Witherspoon, and with the independent spirit which he had inherited from his father, it seems to

have been almost a matter of course that he should have taken an early, active, and decided part in the excited feelings and deeply interesting movements of the times. Accordingly, on the 27th July, 1774, at the age of twenty-three, we find him a member of the first committee appointed by the friends of liberty in Georgia; which, in defiance of the proclamation of Governor Wright, continued to co-operate with similar committees in the northern Provinces, and to excite the people to resistance. When we recollect, in connexion with this fact, that his father was, at that moment, the second officer of the King in the Province, and high in favor, the prominent part which Colonel HABERSHAM took in these proceedings exhibits a deep devotion to the cause of his country, which no influence of others, or considerations of a personal nature, could restrain. In the following year, and while his father was still alive and in office, we again find his name recorded among those of a small party of the Republicans, who broke open the magazine, took out the powder, and sent a large portion of it to Beaufort, in South Carolina, for the use of the patriots. In the month of June of the same year he was appointed one of the council of safety; and in July, commanded a party of volunteers which went down the river in boats, captured a government ship which had just arrived with munitions of war for the royal troops, and took out the cargo, including 15,000 pounds of powder, a portion of which was afterwards sent to the north and used by the American army before Boston. On the 18th day of January of the ever-memorable year 1776, Colonel HABERSHAM, who was at that time a member of the assembly, raised a party of volunteers, took Governor Wright prisoner, and confined him to his house under a guard. The Governor effected his escape, however, from this prison in a few weeks, took refuge on board of a British vessel of war then in the river, and never afterwards landed in Georgia.

Active hostilities were now fairly commenced in the province. By a resolution of the General Assembly the first battalion of Georgia Continental troops was raised; and on the 4th of February, 1776, Colonel, then Mr. HABERSHAM, was appointed Major of that battalion. In this command he did not remain idle; for, early in March, the British armed squadron came up the river Savannah to recover possession of the town, which attempt failed. In the defence, Colonel HABERSHAM, at the head of a company of riflemen, bore a distinguished part. In fact, he appears at this time to have been prominently engaged on every occasion in which danger was to be encountered, or the royal authority resisted.

## JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

After the expulsion of Governor Wright, and of the British forces from Georgia, that Province enjoyed a few months of comparative quiet; during which, on the 19th of May, 1776, Colonel HABERSHAM married Isabella Rae, the daughter of Robert Rae, and sister-in-law of General Samuel Elbert. Upon the taking of Savannah, in the winter of 1778, and the re-establishment of the Royal Government in Georgia, Colonel HABERSHAM removed his family to Virginia for safety; but his zeal in the cause of his country did not permit him to retire from its service, and accordingly, upon the landing of Count De Estaing in Georgia, to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah, he was selected as the officer to guide the French army from the sea-board, and was engaged in the combined attack upon his native city, so disastrous in its results. After the failure of this attack, and the retreat of the American and French armies from the State, Savannah, and nearly the whole of Georgia, remained in possession of the British, and so continued to the end of the war.

At the close of the Revolution, Colonel HABERSHAM returned to private life with a broken fortune, but rich in the respect and affection of a free and independent people. In the ever-memorable contest which had just closed, it would be invidious to claim for Colonel HABERSHAM either a peculiar strength of patriotism or of devotion to the cause of the Revolution; thousands, like him, had perilled life and fortune in that Revolution; but when we reflect that his father was high in office, and in the confidence of the King; that he himself, if the Royal authority was preserved, had every prospect of enjoying like confidence and distinction; that the very weakness of the Province gave, in the beginning, but little hope of effectual resistance; and that, in the event of failure, he would, from these very circumstances, become a marked object of Royal vengeance; surely we may be entitled to claim for him more than a common share of devoted patriotism—and such was the portion awarded to him by his native State. In the year 1785 he was elected Speaker of the General Assembly; and in 1790 was again honored with the same distinction.

In the year 1795 Colonel HABERSHAM was called, by Washington, to the distinguished station of Post-Master-General of the United States; and we require no better proof of the able and faithful manner in which he discharged his duties, than the fact that he retained that office, not only to the close of the administration of Washington, but throughout that of the elder Adams. At a period when so many, from great and devoted service to the country, had claims to office; and these claims, well-known and appreciated; and when the selec-

tion was made by Washington, this appointment was the best evidence of his great merit, and the general estimation in which he was held. In this office, as has been already stated, he continued until the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency; but he retained the office so long, by no cringing or truckling to the higher authorities; for the president, Mr. Adams, having told him that the post-office department was an Augean stable, and must be cleansed—meaning that the post-masters who were of the opposite party must be removed; Colonel HABERSHAM replied, that these officers had discharged their duty faithfully, and that, therefore, *he* would not remove them, but that the president could remove the post-master-general. This, however, Mr. Adams, it seems, did not think proper to do.

The principle, however, which Colonel HABERSHAM refused to act upon was soon after made to act upon him. When Mr. Jefferson became the president, a polite note was addressed to Colonel HABERSHAM, tendering to him the office of Treasurer of the United States. This offer was received as, no doubt, it was intended to be, an intimation to him to resign the office of post-master-general, which he immediately did, and returned to Georgia.

Upon the establishment of a branch of the old Bank of the United States in Savannah, Colonel HABERSHAM was appointed the President, which office he continued to hold until the expiration of the charter. The few remaining years of his life were devoted to honorable efforts to repair the ruins of that fortune which had been broken by the Revolution, and in preparation for the close of that life, the greater portion of which had been devoted to the service of his country. His death occurred in his native city, on the 17th day of November in the year 1815, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

We have said that Colonel HABERSHAM was quick and ardent in temper; but, although quick to take offence, he was ready and anxious to make atonement for the slightest wrong—kind and indulgent to his slaves, humane and liberal to the poor, strict in the performance of all his contracts; tenacious of his own, as he had been of the rights of his country. Allowing to others the same independent and frank expression of opinion which he always exercised for himself, he may with truth be pronounced to have been a fair specimen of that noble, generous, and chivalric race who achieved the liberty and independence of our happy country.

# ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

It was justly remarked, by one* well qualified to form a correct estimate of the character he described, when speaking of the subject of this notice, that "the annals of our country have rarely been adorned with a character more venerable, or a life more useful than that of Abraham Baldwin. War brings its animation, and creates its own heroes; it often rears them up to fame with as little assistance from native genius as from study, or from moral and political virtue. It is in times of peace that an illustrious name is hardest earned, and most difficult to be secured, especially among enlightened republicans, where an equality of right and rank leaves nothing to the caprice of chance; where every action is weighed in its proper balance, and every man compared not only with his neighbor, but with himself; his motives being tested by the uniform tendency of his measures."

Abraham Baldwin was born in Connecticut, in November, 1754, and received his education, very early, at the university at New Haven. He was one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age in which he lived. He was employed as one of the professors in this college during the greater part of the American war; at the close of which he began the practice of law, and went to establish himself in the state of Georgia. He arrived at Savannah in the beginning of 1784; he was immediately admitted a counsellor at the Georgia bar, and in three months after he was elected a member of the state legislature. During the first session of that body after his election, he performed a service for the people of that state, for which their posterity will bless his memory. Indeed, if he had done nothing for them since, this action alone would have immortalized him there. He originated the plan of the University of Georgia, drew up the charter, and with infinite labor and

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* Joel Barlow.

patience, in vanquishing all sorts of prejudices and removing every obstruction, he persuaded the assembly to adopt it. This instrument endowed the university with forty thousand acres of excellent land, required it to establish one central seat for the higher branches of education, and a secondary college in every county in the state; all dependant on the principal seminary.

These lands were then uncultivated; the state itself was new. Within a few years, however, the rents of the university lands enabled the trustees to erect the buildings and organize the institution. Its principal seat was established at Athens, on the Oconee river, and its first president was Josiah Meigs, a man equally eminent for mathematical and chemical science, and legal and classical erudition.

John Milledge, governor of the state, and afterward the colleague of Mr. BALDWIN in the senate of the United States, was associated with him in the labor of bringing forward this establishment: and the trustees caused to be erected and placed within the walls of the first college, a marble monument to Baldwin as founder of the institution, and to Milledge, his associate. Nor is this the only instance in which we find their names connected by monumental acts of public authority. Milledgeville is the shire town of Baldwin county, and the seat of the state government.

Mr. BALDWIN had not been two years in Georgia when he was elected member of congress. This was in 1785, to take his seat in 1786; from that time till the day of his death, he was, without a moment's intermission, a member of congress from that state, either as delegate under the old constitution, until the year 1789; representative under the new, until the year 1799; and senator from that time till his death. And the term for which he was last elected had still four years to run from the 4th of March, 1807, the day of his decease.

There had probably been no other instance of such a long and uninterrupted series of confidence and service among the members of the American congress. And what is more remarkable, on the first day that he was confined to his house in his last illness, only eight days before his death, he told his friends that during his twenty-two years of public service, that day, according to his best recollection, was the first that he had been absent from his public duties.

Mr. BALDWIN was a member of the convention that framed the present constitution of the United States. This he always considered as the greatest service that he ever performed for his country; and

his estimate is doubtless just. He was an active member of that most illustrious and meritorious body. Their deliberations were in secret; but we have good authority for saying, that some of the essential clauses of the invaluable, and we hope everlasting, compact, which they presented to their country, owe their origin and insertion to ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

His manner of conducting public business was worthy of the highest commendation; he may have wanted ambition to make himself brilliant, but he never wanted industry to render himself useful. His oratory was simple, forcible, convincing. His maxim of never asserting any thing but what he believed to be true, could not fail to be useful in carrying conviction to others. Patient of contradiction, and tolerant to the wildest opinions, he could be as indulgent to the errors of judgment in other men, as if he had stood the most in need of such indulgence for himself.

During the violent agitation of parties, he was always moderate, but firm; relaxing nothing in his republican principles, but retaining all possible charity for his former friends, who might be supposed to have abandoned theirs. He lived without reproach, and probably died without an enemy.

The state of society would be rendered much better than it is, if the private lives of virtuous men could be as well known as their public lives; that they might be kept clearly in view as objects of imitation. We are creatures of habit, and our habits are formed as much by repeating after others as after ourselves. Men, therefore, mistake a plain moral principle when they suppose it meritorious to conceal their good actions from the eye of the world. On the contrary, it is a part of their duty to let such actions be known; that they may extend their benefits by a sort of reproduction, and be multiplied by imitation.

Mr. BALDWIN's private life was full of beneficent and charitable deeds, which he was too studious to conceal from public notice. Having never been married, he had no family of his own; and his constant habits of economy and temperance, left him the means of assisting many young men in their education and their establishment in business. Besides which, his father's family presented an ample field for his benevolence. Six orphans, his half-brothers and sisters, were left to his care by the father's death in the year 1787; and the estate that was to support them proved insolvent. He paid the debts of the estate, quit-claimed his proportion to these children, and educated them all in a great measure at his own expense.

Mr. BALDWIN was less distinguished by the brilliancy of his talents, or acuteness of reasoning, than by his strength of mind and soundness of judgment; slow and deliberate in making up his conclusions, he examined thoroughly every subject on which he acted, but when he became satisfied as to the correct course, no one followed it in a more undeviating line. He measured every question, whether of principle or policy, by what he deemed to be established rules in the organization and administration of government, as developed in the political history of the mother country, the colonies, and states, and embodied in their several constitutions.

Having served in the revolutionary war as a chaplain in the Connecticut brigade, he acquired a practical knowledge of the radical defects of the old confederation, in the conduct of our military operations: his subsequent experience in civil life, convinced him of the imperious necessity of avoiding the imminent danger of a dissolution of the confederacy, by the establishment of a new system of government on the authority of the people of the states, instead of that of state legislatures. Hence, he was the zealous advocate in congress for a National Convention to frame the constitution of a federal government, and as a member of that convention, active in its deliberations, laborious in effecting that important result, and afterwards in procuring its adoption by the people. Fully satisfied that in the institution of "one new government out of thirteen old ones," with such powers over each, and all, as were indispensable for federal purposes, enabling it not only to make, but execute its own laws on the enumerated subjects which had been confided to its jurisdiction, the greatest possible good had been effected for the country. Mr. BALDWIN constantly acted on this conviction. Looking to the constitution as the bond of union, which united the states by a law which the people of each had declared to be supreme throughout the land, he was in the constitutional sense of the term, a federalist; as one of its framers, he approved of the federative principles of the constitution, whereby a government was instituted neither consolidated nor popular, but federal in its origin, organization, administration, and action. After its adoption by the people, he took it as a fundamental law, the written text, declaring the will of the supreme power, which was competent and had ordained it as the standard rule of action by which to measure the powers of the federal government, and its respective departments, as well as those reserved to the several states. Whatever may have been his individual opinion as to any

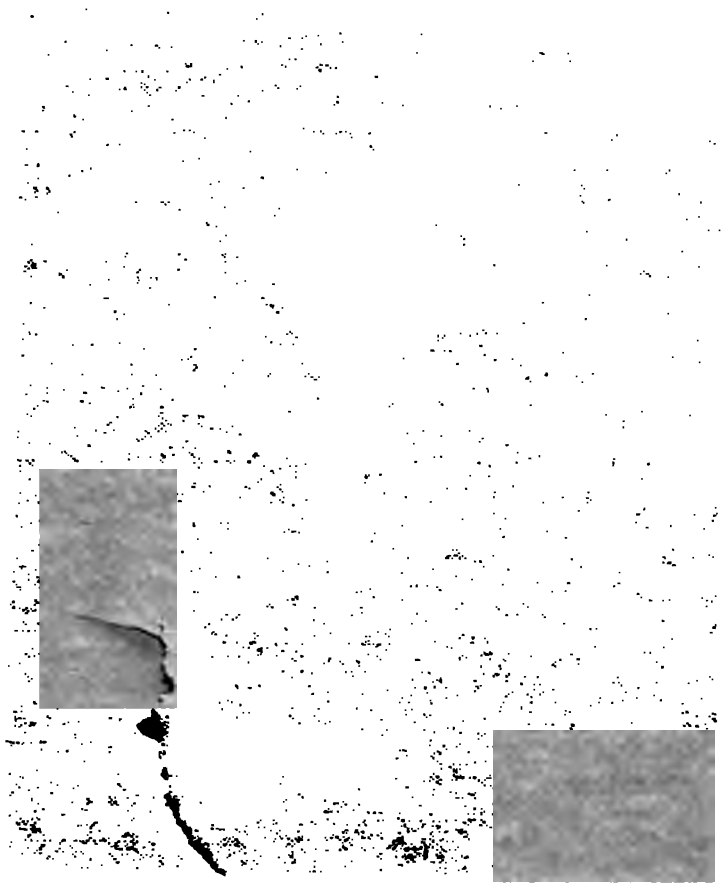
detailed provisions, while the convention were deliberating upon them, he never suffered them to bias his construction; nor with all his veneration of his illustrious associates, did he regard the sense of that body "as the oracular guide in expounding the constitution." He followed a safer guide, he saw and read what the convention proposed, and the people adopted; regarding as of little importance the discussions which led to the great results, whether in the meetings of the people, in party writings, or the reasoning of the members of the general or state conventions. A constitution was adopted, a constitution was to be construed, as a written declaration of the will of sovereign power. Mr. BALDWIN took it as he found it, made it his rule of action; following and obeying it as a disciple, he neither sought to enlarge or narrow its provisions by any theory or doctrine not declared in terms, or by necessary consequence therefrom.

Acting under the influence of these principles throughout a long course of public service, he never lost sight of the "balance of the federal constitution;" he found this balance by viewing all its parts, reconciling each with the others, with a steady determination "to give the greatest effect to them all," according to the plain import and knowledge of the words and terms.

But although Mr. BALDWIN was in these respects a federalist, he was in the political sense of the term a democrat; his principles of government and policy, were those which had denoted the line between the two great parties into which the country was divided as they were developed at the organization of the government, whether on questions of power or policy. Considering the constitution as a direct grant by the people of the several states, in their sovereign capacity as each an independent state, he gave it full effect in all things to which its provisions extended, according to their received acceptation. In assigning a meaning to any word or phrase of doubtful import, he took it in connexion with the whole instrument, its bearing on other parts, considering words and phrases as borrowed from former use, and used in the same sense in which they had always been taken. Though he was from his youth devoted to the principles of the revolution, yet his patriotism was not of that morbid and sensitive nature, as to prevent him from resorting to English books and laws to ascertain the definition of terms which were found in the constitution, as the understood sense in which they had been adopted and used by those who framed and ratified that instrument; justly thinking that it could not have

been intended to give to old words or terms a new meaning, without some declaration to that effect. But while he conceded to the federal government the exercise of its enumerated powers to the full extent of the grant, by a liberal rather than a contracted construction of its provisions, he steadily refused his assent to any measures, which, in principle or operation, tended to impair the reserved powers or rights of the states or people, by any train of refined or ingenious reasoning, or reference to doubtful authority. Whenever a question arose, involving any collision between the relative powers of the executive and legislative departments of the government, he uniformly asserted the rights of the latter, adopting this as a political maxim, that "every particle of law-making power in the constitution granted, was vested in congress;" he opposed its exercise by any other department, in any mode which partook of the character, or by any act which could have the effect of legislation. Fully convinced that the "balance of the constitution" consisted in the steadfast adherence to these principles, they were his guide amidst all the conflicts of party, and the exciting questions which continued from the organization of the government to agitate the country. In following them he acquired and retained till his death, the confidence of the party to which he was attached, the respect of that which he opposed, the approbation of the people and state he represented, and died with the consciousness of having faithfully and fearlessly filled the measure of his public duties.

His last illness was so short, and his death so unexpected, that none of his relatives, except his brother-in-law, were able to be present at his funeral. But it seemed as if the public in general were his near relatives. There have been rarely witnessed more general and genuine marks of regret, at the loss of any of the great benefactors of our country, particularly among the members of congress from Georgia. In that state his loss was most deeply felt, though very sensibly perceived in the councils of the union. Though his funeral was two days after congress dissolved, many members stayed expressly to attend it. His remains were deposited by the side of his old friend, General James Jackson, his former colleague, whom he had followed to the grave just one year before.



# ELIAS BOUDINOT.

As the most tranquil and prosperous periods of a nation afford but scanty materials for the historian, so it frequently happens that men eminent for their morality and virtue, and whose lives have been past in continual acts of beneficence, leave only meagre details for the instruction and example of others. The progress of professional or literary talent contains little of interest, except it is traced by the hand of one who can follow all its windings, and give us feelings as well as facts,—and the deeds of goodness which endear a man to society are done in secret, or known but to few, so that he whose death leaves the greatest void in his immediate circle is often the most speedily forgotten.

Elias Boudinot was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1740. His family was of French extraction, his great grandfather being one of the many protestants compelled to leave their country on the revocation of the edict of Nantes. His father's name was likewise Elias; his mother, Catharine Williams, was of Welsh descent. Young Boudinot received a classical education, such as was at that time common in the colonies, after which he pursued the study of the law under Richard Stockton. At the termination of his studies, entering upon the practice of his profession in New Jersey, he soon became distinguished. At the commencement of the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country, he advocated the cause of the Americans, and when hostilities had actually commenced took a decided part in favor of the colonists. In 1777, congress appointed him commissary general of prisoners, and in the same year he was elected a member of that body. In November, 1782, he was elected president of congress, and in that capacity signed the treaty of peace which was soon afterwards concluded. He now resumed the practice of the law, but in 1789, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution he was again elected a member of congress, and occupied his seat by successive reëlections for six years. In 1796, he was appointed by Washington to succeed Rittenhouse as director of the mint; in this office he continued until 1805, when resigning all public employment he retired to Burlington, N. J.

The remainder of his life BOUDINOT passed in attending to the affairs of his estate, in the study of biblical literature, which was always one of his favorite pursuits, and in the exercise of a munificent charity, both private and public. He was a trustee of Princeton college, and in 1805, founded in it a cabinet of natural history at the cost of three thousand dollars. In 1812, he was elected a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to which he presented a donation of one hundred pounds sterling. He was active in promoting the formation of the American Bible Society, and in 1816, being elected its first president, he made it the munificent donation of ten thousand dollars. After a long life of usefulness Mr. BOUDINOT died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1821, in the eighty-second year of his age; a sincere and devout christian, his death bed was cheered by that religion which had guided him through life. He knew that his end approached, but he was prepared and ready to meet it, and his last prayer was, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Mr. BOUDINOT married in early life the sister of his preceptor, Richard Stockton; by whom he had an only daughter, who survives him. Mrs. Boudinot died in 1808.

In his last will, after having suitably provided for his daughter, BOUDINOT bequeathed the bulk of his large property for the furtherance of those objects which he had so steadily pursued through life: the diffusion of religion, the promotion of literature, and the alleviation of the distresses of the poor. Four thousand acres of land were left to the Society for the Benefit of the Jews; five thousand dollars to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; four thousand and eighty acres for theological students at Princeton; four thousand acres to the college of New Jersey for the establishment of fellowships; three thousand two hundred and seventy acres to the Hospital of Philadelphia; thirteen thousand acres to the mayor and corporation of Philadelphia for the supply of the poor with wood on low terms; besides, numerous other bequests for religious and charitable purposes.

Mr. BOUDINOT is the author of several publications, the principal of which is the "Star in the West, or an attempt to discover the long lost tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city of Jerusalem," 8vo., 1816; in which he endeavors to prove that the American Indians are the lost tribes. The work exhibits great benevolence of feeling towards the Indians, extensive research, and considerable acuteness, yet it is to be regretted that his time and talents were wasted upon a subject so ill calculated to reward his labor.